Attitudes beyond the Inner Circle: Investigating Hong Kong Students' Attitudes towards English Accents

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Abstract

The development of Hong Kong English has triggered a number of concerns amongst the local population with respect to its status. However, despite the prominence of research into attitudes towards language variation within sociolinguistics, very few studies focus on the Hong Kong context. Furthermore, while previous research has demonstrated that native English speakers tend to have more positive attitudes towards Standard English varieties as far as status is concerned, whereas non-standard varieties are usually evaluated more highly in terms of solidarity, we lack information about the attitudes of Hong Kong Chinese people with respect to different English varieties (particularly the local non-standard variety).

This quantitative study sets out to investigate the attitudes of 44 Hong Kong university students with respect to eight varieties of English speech, i.e. educated Hong Kong English accent (HKed), the broad Hong Kong accent (HKbr), Received Pronunciation (RP), General American (AmE), Australian English (AusE), Tyneside English (TynE), Philippine English (PE) and Mandarin-accented English (ME). This study employed a range of direct (e.g., interviews) and indirect (e.g., the verbal-guise test) techniques of attitude measurement in order to obtain in-depth information regarding such perceptions.

The results suggest that Hong Kong informants actually have relatively positive attitudes towards HKed – especially in terms of solidarity. Moreover, ME was evaluated comparatively highly, indicating that it might potentially develop into a ubiquitous 'China English'. The finding that AmE was rated even more highly than RP provides grounds for suggesting that the replacement of RP by a General American accent could already be underway. Overall, though, Hong Kong informants prefer HKed since it is a variety close to RP. Therefore, although the results demonstrate that a certain amount of linguistic self-hatred does exist in Hong Kong, it is not extended to HKed and the broadness of local accents does indeed appear to play a role in Hong Kong people's language attitudes. Surprisingly, the

ability to identify an accent, as well as a range of social variables tested had no significant effect on informants' attitudes towards the eight varieties of English under investigation.

The thesis concludes with discussion of these findings with respect to the pedagogical implications they have for the choice of linguistic model in English language teaching both within the Hong Kong population and indeed with regard to other Chinese communities.

Declaration

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and my own work. The material has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

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Chapter One Introduction

English has spread across almost every country in the world to the point where the number of speakers of English has increased 'to somewhere between one-and-a-half and two billion' at the start of the 21st century (Jenkins 2009: 2). Around 380 million people speak English as their first language and 253 million people use it as their second, while 'nearly a third of the world population' (Graddol 2006: 5) is thought to be currently learning English with around 350 million of these in the whole Asia alone (Hu 2004: 26). This significant and continuing increase in the number of users of English has led English into diverse varieties, often referred to under the heading 'World Englishes' (Roberts 2005: 2). This thesis will position the exploration of the future development of Hong Kong English in the context of World Englishes through investigating the attitudes of Hong Kong people towards this variety.

There have been a number of studies on attitudes towards accents in English and in other languages such as Mandarin (Kalmar *et al.* 1987, Hu 1991, Gupta and Yeok 1995, Gao *et al.* 2000, Wang and Ladegaard 2008, Yan 2008), Spanish (Carranza and Ryan 1975, Flores and Hopper 1975, Carranze 1982, Gynan 1985, Hidalgo 1986, Mejias *et al.* 1988, Galindo 1995), and French (Méar-Crine and Leclerc 1976, Goavert-Ganthier 1978, Lappin 1981, Evans 2002). Usually, research into attitudes towards English accents has demonstrated that the listeners, especially when they are native English speakers, tend to have more positive attitudes towards Standard English varieties as far as status is concerned, whereas non-standard varieties are usually evaluated more highly in terms of solidarity.

However, research into attitudes towards accents in other languages has shown a more complex picture. I give the research on Mandarin accents as an example. A study conducted in Guangzhou, mainland China, investigated attitudes towards two Chinese accents, namely standard Mandarin and Cantonese-accented Mandarin, and showed similar results to those found by sociolinguists in most Western societies in a diaglossic context: standard Mandarin, as the 'high' language in the society being promoted by the government and used as a lingua franca throughout China, was rated

highly in terms of status, whereas Cantonese-accented Mandarin as the 'low' language was perceived positively in the sphere of personal empathy (Kalmar *et al.* 1987). On the contrary, the research on Taiwan Mandarin showed that the standard Mandarin accent was evaluated more positively than the vernacular Mandarin accent on both dimensions of status and solidarity. The reason for the people of Taiwan having different attitudes towards Mandarin accents from those of Guangzhou is that the two varieties of Taiwan Mandarin 'index not only the traditional status traits but also the political inclination and cosmopolitanness' (Liao 2008: 391).

Despite the interesting results shown in previous attitude studies, there has been a scarcity of studies conducted in Hong Kong concentrating specifically on this issue. It remains unknown whether non-native speakers of English in the context of Hong Kong perceive different English varieties in the same way, and in particular what their attitude is to the local non-standard variety: Hong Kong English. There have been two kinds of attitude studies in Hong Kong. The first one examines the attitudes of Hong Kong people towards English, Cantonese and Mandarin. This kind of research has shown that while English is still perceived as the language of power post-1997 hand back from the UK to China, it does not pose any threat to Hong Kong people's ethno-linguistic identity. On the contrary, the results suggest that they perceive speaking fluent English as a must-have for being a Hongkonger, which indicates a possibility of English serving as a linguistic identity for Hong Kong. Nevertheless, it remains to be investigated whether it is the English language itself or certain varieties of English, such as Hong Kong English, that carry such associations.

The second kind of research studies Hong Kong people's attitudes towards various English accents, especially the Hong Kong accent. In the very limited number of studies of this kind, the similar results for Hong Kong English have triggered a number of concerns amongst the local population with respect to its status. Therefore, in order to discover the perceptions of the local population of Hong Kong English, this quantitative study uses Hong Kong students from two Hong Kong tertiary institutions to measure their attitudes towards different varieties of English speech, in particular Hong Kong English.

The second chapter in this thesis provides an overview of the research context with regard to the English language in Hong Kong. It starts with a critical review of

Kachru's (1992) concentric model and continues with a brief history of English language contact in Hong Kong from three periods: the early era, the late colonial era and post-1997. The rationale for classification of Hong Kong English into the broad Hong Kong accent and the educated Hong Kong accent is then given. The chapter also examines the segmental and suprasegmental phonology of Hong Kong English.

Chapter 3 presents the nature of linguistic attitudes in general. A critical review of previous studies of language attitudes, with a focus on Hong Kong, is provided. It presents the major findings from research conducted into attitudes towards the English language generally. The chapter then details more specifically the important research on the Hong Kong accent, which points out that further language attitude studies need to be undertaken concentrating on Hong Kong people's perceptions of English accents. Finally, the chapter outlines the specific research focuses and questions in the study.

An in-depth examination of the main approaches employed in the measurement of language attitudes is offered in Chapter 4. The chapter continues with a detailed discussion of the research design of the study. The rationale for the English accents selected for evaluation is provided in addition to the phonological description of each speaker. The chapter then offers an overview of the sample selected in the study and discusses the choice of background variables. Finally it describes the implications of the findings from the pilot study and outlines the data collection procedure for the main study.

Chapter 5 presents the statistical techniques employed in the data analysis. It continues with the results of the study collected in the verbal-guise section and those based on the perceptions of eight English accents, in order to provide a full picture of Hong Kong people's attitudes towards varieties of English speech. Chapter 6 outlines the results of the main effects of various independent variables on the evaluation of English accents. This chapter also provides analysis of the data collected in the accent recognition section of the research instrument and the interaction effects of accent recognition on attitudes. For each stage of the analysis, general comments on the findings are provided.

Chapter 7 offers a more in-depth discussion of the findings as well as cross-examination of each sub-section of the research instrument, with particular reference to the research questions presented in Chapter 3. The discussion synthesises my findings in order to provide a review of the results obtained here and also to compare them with previous research.

Finally, Chapter 8 concludes with the main contributions of the study, with a focus on language pedagogy regarding the choice of a linguistic model. The issue of which model is most appropriate for ESL and EFL contexts is hotly debated amongst both researchers and practitioners, especially in classroom situations, where traditionally a native-speaker model has been encouraged and favoured. However, learners of English are not expected to encounter one and only one variety of English in the world, which is particularly the case for Hong Kong people who live in an international metropolis. It is thus hoped that courses and training opportunities specially geared towards non-native and second language Englishes in classroom situations will prepare future teachers for the employment of non-native varieties of English in Hong Kong classrooms. Additionally, it is important to raise learners' awareness, as well as increase their linguistic flexibility and tolerance, of the diversity of English by exposing them to a range of English varieties. Finally, Chapter 8 outlines the limitations of the thesis and implications for future research.

Chapter Two

Hong Kong English

The purpose of this study is to examine Hong Kong attitudes towards varieties of English, particularly the relatively new variety spoken locally - Hong Kong English (henceforth HKE). It is of importance to investigate local people's attitudes towards and ideologies relating to varieties of English in order to understand their linguistic behaviour with respect to their language/variety choice. Furthermore, it is interesting to see whether Hong Kong people evaluate their local variety and other varieties of English differently, as well as the extent to which they like/dislike this new local variety. In this chapter, I will provide background information relevant to the research context. I shall first discuss Kachru's (1992) three-circle model of English. I shall then situate HKE within this model and provide a brief introduction to the history of the emergence and subsequent development of English in Hong Kong, with particular emphasis on the use of English in the domain of education. In the last section, I shall give an overview of HKE phonology with reference to the speech features of the recordings used in the current study; I shall also provide evidence for classifying HKE into two separate varieties: the educated and broad Hong Kong accents.

2.1 Kachru's three-circle model

A number of models have been proposed to capture the spread of English and to categorise speakers of English. Examples of these are Strevens' (1992) world map of English and McArthur's (1987) wheel model of World English (see also Jenkins 2009: 17-24). The most influential model, however, remains Kachru's (1985, 1992) 'three concentric circles' model, which categorises new varieties of Englishes into

the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle (See Figure 2.1).[1] The grouping of regions and countries into a particular circle is determined by a range of factors such as the pattern of acquisition, sources of norms, the status of English as a native, second or foreign language, functional allocation and history of colonisation (Bruthiaux 2003: 168-171). I will now discuss this model in considerable detail in terms of the important role it plays in the context of this research.

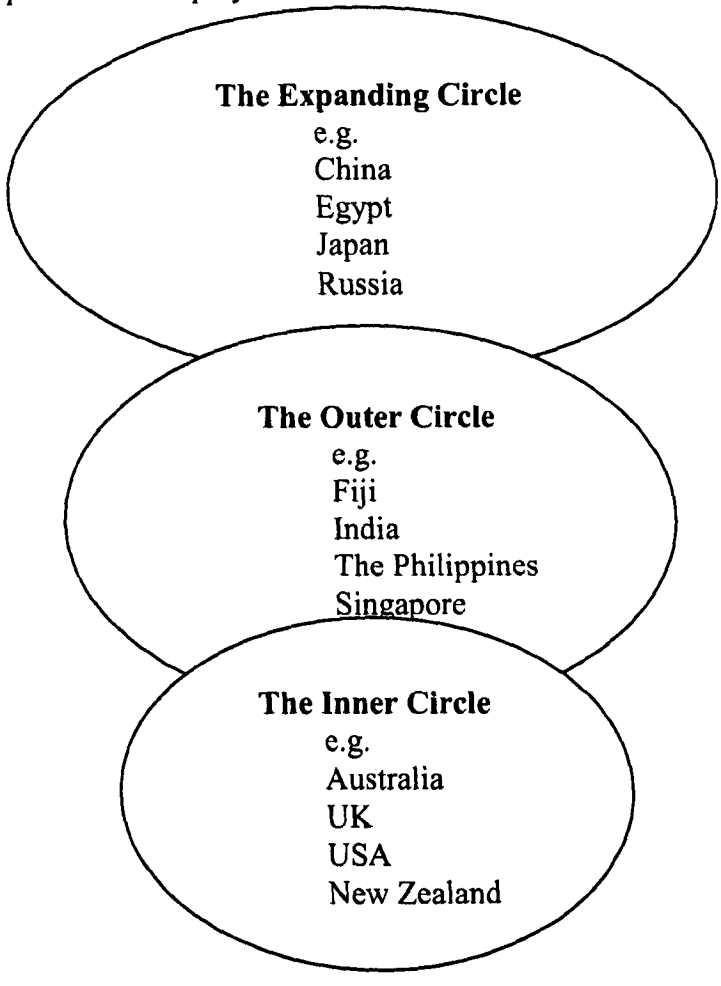

Figure 2.1 Kachru's model of World Englishes (adapted from Kachru 1992: 356)

The Inner Circle indicates the places where English is spoken as a native language (ENL) and where the majority of the population is monolingual, such as the UK, the USA, Australia and New Zealand. Here, English is used for all official and non-

[1] Kachru's (1985) three-circle model is also known as the 'three concentric circles' model, which used to be demonstrated by three circles presented concentrically (see also Graddol 1997: 10, Tripathi 1998: 56, Yano 2001: 122). However, the most frequently cited version of the model uses three ovals presented vertically, as shown here (see also McArthur 1998, McKenzie 2006, S. Poon 2007, Jenkins 2009: 19).

official functions in all domains of society. The varieties of English in these countries are often 'endonormative' (Bruthiaux 2003; McKenzie 2006), which means that the norms of language correctness and appropriateness are found within the language variety itself and are propagated through language education and language planning.

The Outer Circle refers to former colonies where English is spoken as a second language (ESL), such as India, the Philippines and Singapore. These countries, having previously come under the administration of an English-speaking country, continue to employ English in a wide range of domains in the post-colonial period. To some extent, their colonial histories promoted the spread of English in these communities. Nowadays, in most ESL countries, English continues to enjoy high prestige and serves a range of official functions, being used for educational and/or administrative purposes. At the moment, the varieties of English spoken in some countries in the Outer Circle are shifting from exonormative to endonormative, leading to a situation that has been described as 'norm-developing' (Jenkins 2009: 18). In other words, the norms of language correctness and appropriateness are in the process of being formed within the speech communities themselves. However, it is worth noting that 'these Englishes continue to be affected by conflict between linguistic norms and linguistic behaviour, with widespread perceptions among users that Anglo-American norms are somehow superior and that their own variants are therefore deficient' (Bruthiaux 2003: 160). The geographical region, Hong Kong, which this study focuses on, is a former British colony which continues to employ English as one of the official languages. It has been categorised into the Outer Circle (for more details see section 2.2) and an important aim of the research is to determine: (i) whether HKE is subject to norm development and (ii) what are the local views of HKE in relation to Inner and Outer Circle varieties.

The Expanding Circle contains countries where English is learned as a foreign language (EFL) in schools rather than passed on to the next generation as their mother tongue. English does not serve any official function in these countries. Instead, it is mainly used for international communication in the domains of business, diplomacy and tourism. This category comprises every nation that is not included in the Inner or Outer Circles, for example, China, Japan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The

varieties of English spoken in these countries are often exonormative or 'norm-dependent'; that is, the speakers, educators and policy-makers have traditionally been looking to the Inner Circle countries for linguistic norms and in most cases continue to do so. Hence, the English language standards of these speech communities are dependent on and determined by native speakers in the Inner Circle (Jenkins 2009: 18).

Kachru's model offers a broad profile of the English language as it is currently used all over the world, and has therefore had a major impact on research into World Englishes (Tripathi 1998; Yano 2001; Graddol 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007a; Mesthrie 2008). With the growing number of speakers of varieties of English and the expansion of English culture across the world, Kachru's model breaks the previously unquestioned 'duopoly of American and British English' (Mesthrie 2008: 160) by introducing a pluricentric approach to world Englishes in which there are several global centres (Jenkins 2003: 64). In doing so, it is helping to change some of the negative perceptions of some varieties of English and enhance linguistic self-confidence in them (Bruthiaux 2003: 172), which has consequently contributed to 'the increasing number of recommendations that the teaching of English be made to reflect local identities and incorporate local as well as worldwide norms' (*ibid.* 2003: 161). I will rely on it in this thesis as already noted. However, despite its clear merits and strong influence, the model is not without its problems (Bruthiaux 2003; Jenkins 2009). The following paragraphs will briefly outline the limitations of this model and show how Kachru (1999, 2005) went on to refine and further develop the model.

(1) The three-circle model is a broad nation-based model which only categorises varieties according to large geographical areas (Bruthiaux 2003; Jenkins 2009; McKenzie 2006). By elevating concepts such as 'American English' or 'British English' to norm-providing status, the model only takes into account the common written norms of the Inner Circle variety and ignores dialectal variations within spoken varieties. For instance, African-American vernacular English possesses very different spoken norms from 'standard' American English (Bruthiaux 2003; Kachru 2003). In the case of the UK, Afendras *et al.* (1995: 299) pointed out that 'British English is not so much a cover term as a masking term: it hides major phonetic and phonological variation and renders invisible very many speakers and several national

identities'. To give an example, on the basis of its geographical location, Tyneside English, which has been included in the current study, should be grouped into the Inner Circle. Yet this variety of English is spoken only in the north-east of England, and is certainly not considered Standard English in the United Kingdom (see also Chapter 4). Hence, the uniformity of Inner Circle Englishes is a chimera. They are conceptualised by Kachru's model as consisting of monolithic, standardised and norm-providing varieties, which makes it impossible to locate non-standard varieties within them (Bruthiaux 2003: 160).

(2) The three-circle model is based on a division between native speakers of English (i.e., from the Inner Circle) and non-native speakers of English (i.e., from the Outer and Expanding Circles). However, problems arise when attempting to use the terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' to distinguish different groups of people (e.g., Gupta 1994; Singh *et al.* 1995; Tripathi 1998; Yano 2001; Jenkins 2009: 87; Mesthrie 2008). The speakers of Singapore English are an excellent case in point. According to Kachru's classification, Singapore belongs to the Outer Circle, since English is taught at school to the majority of speakers. Singapore English speakers are consequently classified as non-native speakers of English; English is not their mother tongue. However, there are a number of speakers who speak Singapore English also at home instead of merely acquiring it at school and using it for official purposes. According to the 2000 census, 23% (more than 750,000) of the whole population of Singapore claim that English is the language most frequently spoken at home. This percentage is lower than that for Mandarin (35%) but only just below Chinese dialects (23.8%, see The Gateway to Singapore Official Statistics). Yet Kachru's model provides for only state-based monolithic categories, leading to large numbers of native speakers in Singapore being wrongly labelled 'non-native speakers'.

Similar cases can be found in other multilingual regions, such as Quebec or India, where it is difficult to determine whether speakers are using English as their L1, L2 or L3 (e.g., Schneider 2003: 243; Jenkins 2009: 20; McKenzie 2006). Indeed, in multilingual communities, it is likely that many speakers tend to acquire different languages up to similar levels of proficiency (Mesthrie 2008: 32). Bilingual or even multilingual users of English may experience the dilemma of prioritising one of their

languages: 'should one privilege the first learnt one? or the one acquired in educational contexts and used in widespread communications in the less informal domains?' (*ibid.*) and researchers often face the question of whether to classify these people as native speakers of English or not. English speakers and users of this kind are likely to be miscategorised as non-native speakers purely on the basis that they live in a territory labelled as a nation of non-native speakers. Conversely, the classification of multilingual countries such as the United States, Australia or New Zealand into the Inner Circle ignores (often non-native) minority groups, such as native Americans, Hispanic Americans and Aboriginals (e.g., Tripathi 1998: 56; Schneider 2003: 243; Yano 2001: 122). Kachru (1999, see also 2005: 213) attempted to solve this problem by proposing the concepts of 'genetic nativeness' and 'functional nativeness' in multilingual repertoires, a classification that attempted to 'get out of the linguistic trap that has resulted in the attitudinally-loaded dichotomy' of native/non-native speakers. Genetic nativeness indicates the historically genetic relationship between, for example, Hindi/Kashmiri, which belong to India's Indo-Aryan group of languages (Kachru 2005: 12), and Cantonese/Mandarin, which belong to the Sino-Tibetan language family (Li and Thompson 1981). Functional nativeness, on the other hand, does not refer to 'the genetic mapping of a language' (Kachru 2005). It is determined by the range (i.e., the domains of function) and depth (i.e., the degree of social penetration) of a language in a society.

Despite the potential problems with the dichotomy of 'native/non-native speaker', the current study uses this term, following Gupta's (2001: 366) definition of a 'native speaker' of a language as 'one who acquired the language in infancy, before any other language was acquired (though not necessarily as the sole language being learnt).' In contrast, a 'non-native speaker' is someone who learns English at a later stage, after he/she has already acquired a language (Singh *et al.* 1995: 286).

(3) One further problem with Kachru's model is that the three-circle model attempts to account for groups of speakers that are not strictly comparable (Bruthiaux 2003: 172). All countries or speech communities from the Outer Circle are 'grouped together on the basis of their shared colonial history'; the unique histories and ethnic composition of these speech communities are overlooked as well as the fundamental differentiations 'between strongly multiethnic entities and strongly monolingual

ones' (Bruthiaux 2003: 164). For example, even though Hong Kong came under British administration at the end of the 18th century and English is still widely employed in various domains, it is different from highly multilingual regions such as Nigeria or India in that Hong Kong is a mainly mono-ethnic territory and English is not used for inter- and intra-ethnic communication. Obviously, since Hong Kong has now been returned to China and has become a Special Administrative Region of the state, rather than gaining its independence, it is also not a typical post-colonial country (I will outline the history of Hong Kong in section 2.2). Under these circumstances, problems arise not only when attempting to group Hong Kong with other post-colonial countries, but it also renders more difficult the task of language educators or language policy-makers in positioning Hong Kong linguistically compared to other Outer Circle countries. In other words, a pedagogical practice or language policy applied successfully in other post-colonial countries may not be suitable for Hong Kong because of its unique situation. Therefore, as Bolton (2003: 204) has argued, the language situation in Hong Kong should not be seen as analogous to that of Singapore, where English is used inter- and intra-ethnically. Instead, the Philippines may provide a better comparison with Hong Kong since 'the vast majority of English speakers share a command of the national language, Filipino, and/or regional languages such as Cebuano and Ilocano'. Even without an inter-ethnic function, Philippine English is still employed in other domains, such as economics or tourism, and has been recognised as a distinctive variety of English (Tayao 2004). It is worth observing whether HKE also follows the same path and goes through the same stages of status recognition.

(4) Another problem is the categorisation of English varieties according to the norms of language. Berns (2005: 87) points out that a particular norm serving as the learning model is determined by factors such as geographical proximity, historical accident, exposure to a model, and/or social attitudes towards a variety. The source of norms in Expanding Circle countries tends to be an idealised exonormative source. However, because of 'the socio-historical and cultural kinship' between Britain and European countries (Graddol 1997: 11), the transition from an exonormative to endonormative state is in progress in countries such as Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, etc. (Graddol 1997; Hu 2004: 27). Therefore, Kachru (1985: 13-14) acknowledged: 'the Outer and Expanding Circles cannot be viewed as clearly

demarcated from each other; they have several shared characteristics, and the status of English in the language policies of such countries changes from time to time. What is an ESL region at one time may become an EFL region at another time or vice versa.'

Therefore, Berns (2005: 86) called for more in-depth research which takes into account and reflects the sociolinguistic reality of non-European countries from the Expanding Circle in order to broaden the understanding of English varieties used in the regions, especially 'the spread, development, acquisition, and attitudes toward English'. The current study responds to this call by investigating the status of English in Hong Kong and by probing the ideologies attached to a range of Expanding Circle Englishes, including Mandarin-accented English which is widely employed in China, an Expanding Circle country with almost 200 million English users (Kachru 2005: 15).

In sum, Kachru (1996:2) acknowledges the limitations of the three-circle model, stating that English 'has become a pluricentric language with Asian and African norms and models for its acquisition, its teaching, and creativity in the language'. Despite the problems associated with the clear definition and classification of each circle described above, Kachru's model has been used in many recent studies (e.g., Ladegaard 1998; Bayard *et al.* 2001; McKenzie 2008; Cavallaro and Chin 2009), mainly since it categorises varieties of English according to similar socio-historical backgrounds and provides a theoretical framework which may be used to explore changing sociolinguistic circumstances (Bruthiaux 2003: 160). At the same time, and partly via these studies, the three-circle model is being gradually refined in order to capture and explain these complex sociolinguistic phenomena in a more precise way (see, e.g., Kachru 1976, 1985, 1992, 1996, 1999, 2005). It is hoped that the current study will contribute to the refinements of this model.

2.2 The history of English in Hong Kong

Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China in 1997. Within the territory there are many debates about language policy. English, as the only official language in the early years of Hong Kong becoming a British colony, still plays an important role in a wide range of domains, ranging from

politics, economics, law and education to the mass media and tourism. On the other hand, the English used in Hong Kong tends to have its own characteristics, which are gradually becoming more and more systematised (e.g., Hung 2000; Setter 2006; Bolton 2002; Deterding *et al.* 2008). Indeed, the concept of Hong Kong English (HKE) seems to have become gradually more acceptable (e.g., Candler 2001; Bolton 2002; Pang 2003; S. Poon 2007), at least amongst academics. Thus, in 2000, the journal *World English* published a special issue on the topic of 'Hong Kong English'. In 2002, Bolton described the emergence of HKE as a new variety of English on the basis of distinctive features of accent, vocabulary and grammar, as well as its particular linguistic history, literary creativity and the publication of reference works such as dictionaries and style guides (Butler 1997).

The following section will examine the linguistic situation in Hong Kong with a focus on how HKE has emerged and changed over the last few years, especially pre- and post-1997. Taking into account the historical and social changes which have occurred in this territory, it is also necessary to consider how other Chinese dialects, namely Cantonese and Mandarin,[2] affect the English language in Hong Kong. The debate on the future of HKE will likewise be a particular focus of interest.

2.2.1 The early era of English in Hong Kong

Bolton (2003) points out that English has a long history in China. It has been used since the 18th century in Canton, which was a very important trading area.[3] Hong Kong is located inside of the Province of Canton, as shown in the map in Figure 2.2. Therefore, the earliest stages of the development of HKE can be traced through the development of English in Canton.

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[2] Mandarin is defined as a variety of Chinese based mainly on the Beijing dialect and other northern Chinese dialects (Huang and Liao 2007). Both Cantonese and Mandarin are often referred to as the Chinese language in some studies, such as those of Pierson *et al.* (1980) and Pennington and Yue (1994), since both are dialects of Chinese and share the same writing system.

[3] The importance of Canton can be seen, for instance, in the fact that it was the only port which was open for foreigners to trade from around 1757 until the First Opium War (Bolton 2003: 147).

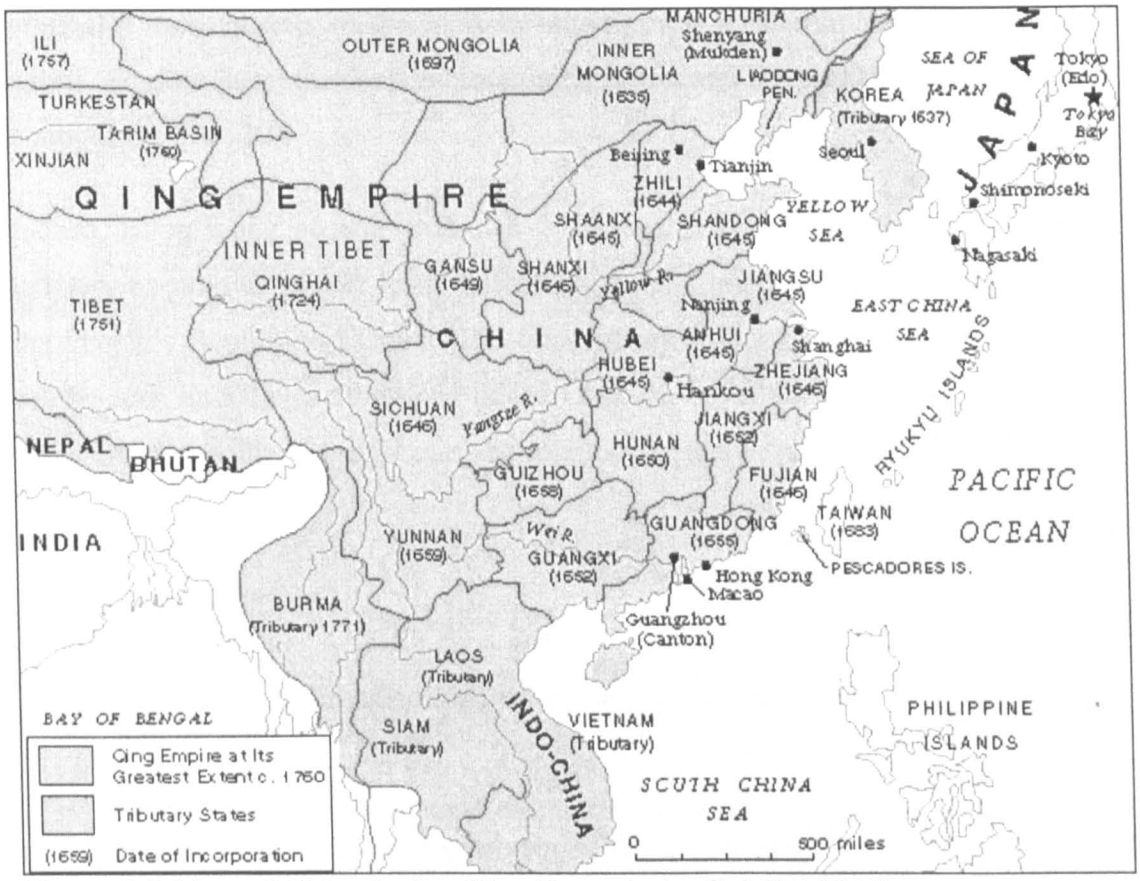

Figure 2.2 Map of China in the Qing Dynasty (A.C. 1616-1911)

Source: http://www.wwnorton.com/college/history/ralph/ralimage/map21chi.jpg

After losing the First (1839-1842) and the Second (1856-1860) Opium Wars, China was forced to open more and more cities and ports to Western countries, which contributed to the spread of English into other regions of China. Between the mid-18th and 19th centuries, Canton English, which was spoken as a form of jargon, gradually developed into Chinese Pidgin English (CPE). CPE was widely used in the south of China and spread northwards (Bolton 2002). Despite its widespread use, many scholars disapproved of CPE and considered it to be inadequate for communication (e.g., Noble 1762; William 1836; Hill 1920; see also Bolton 2000). Indeed, the decline of CPE is believed to have started in the early 20th century, when access to English became available through formal education, notably through the various mission schools (Bolton 2002: 194; 2003: 159). In fact, mission schools founded in Hong Kong and many other places in China played a significant role in increasing proficiency in spoken English. It is important to note that the early mission schools in China were centred on Hong Kong and Macau (Bolton, 2002). It is thus likely that these schools had a great influence on both the development of HKE as well as on the education system. The term 'Anglo-Chinese', which was

originally used to refer to the mission schools, was a label attached to schools in which 'English [was] the declared teaching medium and the printed medium for most textbooks' (*ibid.*: 32).

Indeed, Hong Kong became a British colony in 1841 and language policy in the territory became separated from that of mainland China, which eventually became the People's Republic of China. The idiosyncratic status of English in Hong Kong can be seen in Articles 50 and 51 of the 1842 Treaty of Tientsin[4] (Tsou 1996: 128-129), which vividly demonstrates the relationship between Chinese and English in Hong Kong.

> Article 50:
>
> All official communications, addressed by the diplomat and Consular Agents of Her Majesty the Queen to the Chinese Authorities, shall, henceforth, be written in English. They will for the present be accompanied by a Chinese version, but it is understood that in the event of there being any difference of meaning between the English and Chinese text the English Government will hold the sense as expressed in the English text to be the correct sense. This provision is to apply to the treaty now negotiated, the Chinese text of which has been carefully corrected by the English original.
>
> Article 51:
>
> It is agreed, henceforward the character 'I' (barbarian)[5] shall not be applied to the Government or subjects of Her Britannic Majesty in any Chinese official document issued by the Chinese Authorities, either in the capital or in the provinces.

These two Articles illustrate the prestigious status of English which contributed to the establishment of the diglossic situation in Hong Kong in the following decades. Article 50 established the basis for English being the only official language in Hong Kong, which inevitably led to the English language's rise in status. The emphasis on English usage also meant that Chinese, which here refers to Cantonese, became an

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[4] The Treaty of Tientsin was agreed between the UK and China after China lost two Opium Wars. It stated the areas (including Hong Kong) that China had to cede to the UK.

[5] The Chinese character is '夷', which is supplied as 'I' in the adhoc pronunciation (pinyin 'yí'). It means 'foreign'. Liu (2009) thinks that it was deliberately translated as 'barbarian' by the English government to justify their opium wars against China.

inferior language in Hong Kong over the long period during which Hong Kong was a British colony. The severity of the terms used in Article 51 is said to exemplify the fact that the treaty was unequal in that it explicitly prohibits Chinese authorities from using 'an undesirable epithet for British officials and nationals' (Tsou 1996: 129). In sum, as is typical in diglossic situations, the imbalance in political status between the Chinese authorities and British officials contributed to the unequal status of the English and Chinese languages within this territory.

2.2.2 Hong Kong English (HKE) in the late colonial era

The late colonial period refers to the time from the mid-1960s to the change of sovereignty in 1997. This period is believed to have played a crucial part in Hong Kong's history since the economy of the territory thrived during this time. After World War II, Hong Kong functioned as a refugee area, accommodating people mainly from Canton and Shanghai (Harrison and So, 1996). These refugees came from the commercial centres in China and they brought with them the capital and labour force which enabled Hong Kong to build a wealthier and more successful commercial centre. Other factors, such as a favourable geographical location as one of the most important ports on the south-east coast, also played a significant role in Hong Kong's ascendance and prosperity (Bolton 2002). The following sections will discuss the linguistic situation in Hong Kong during this era.

2.2.2.1 The diglossic situation in Hong Kong pre-1997

As mentioned in section 2.2.1, the diglossic situation in Hong Kong arose after English was established as a superior language in Hong Kong. Nonetheless, the majority of people in Hong Kong, being ethnically Chinese and originally immigrants from Canton, continued to speak Cantonese (Bolton 2003: 72). According to Gibbon (1987:1), in 1981 Hong Kong was largely a racially homogeneous city as '98% of the population was Chinese' and according to the 1979 census, '88% of the population spoke Cantonese'. From another perspective, Hong Kong also seems to be a multi-ethnic community. There are a large number of immigrants, mainly from areas around Canton, Fukien (Fujian Province) or Shanghai. Tsou (1996: 130-133) categorises the Chinese in Hong Kong into five linguistic groups: basic Cantonese speakers, Szeyap speakers, Chiuchow speakers, Hakka

speakers and 'out-of-staters'. A comparison of data collected in 1966 and 1971, respectively, revealed that the latter four groups had a tendency to shift to speaking Cantonese (*ibid.*: 134). For example, in 1966, 83.78% of Szeyap speakers used Cantonese as their home language, whereas by 1971, the percentage of Szeyap speakers who spoke Cantonese at home had increased to 92.3%.

Although English was established as the dominant language in Hong Kong during the early colonial era,[6] the language shift to the local variety - Cantonese - within the Chinese community and the large number of Cantonese speakers put pressure on language policy-makers in Hong Kong. After riots broke out in 1967, the government was forced gradually to acknowledge the lower status language, Cantonese, which was widely used in non-official domains (Tsou 1996: 138). On the other hand, English was more likely to expand in upper-middle class families owing to the fact that it was predominately used in work domains, especially in the professions, for instance, accounting, architecture, medicine, business etc., by the upwardly mobile groups (Li 2009: 73). This social division between English and Cantonese speakers reinforced diglossia in Hong Kong.

However, the diglossic situation began to break down with the approach of 1997. As Yau's (1997) case study of code-switching in the Hong Kong Legislative Council has shown, the years 1991 - 1995 were a transitional period for the Legislative Council; it changed from being professional-administration and elitist to being more open and locally oriented. Therefore, Cantonese, the language used by a majority of the local people in everyday interaction, was used more and more often in the Council. In other words, a new code-norm was being re-negotiated and established, which inevitably led to code-switching behaviour. In fact, an increasing percentage of code-switching from English to Cantonese was observed amongst councillors and officials in Yau's study. As the date of the changeover grew closer and the council opened up more to the local community, Chinese inevitably started to rise in status

[6] According to my knowledge, there is no other document relating to the status of English that is as explicit as the two Articles of the 1842 Treaty of Tientsin.

and councillors felt the need to communicate directly with the people using Cantonese.

2.2.2.2 The myth of the falling standard of English in Hong Kong

Although the status of Cantonese seemed to be on the rise during this pre-handover period, English still played a major role in that it continued as the official language in Hong Kong.[7] At the same time, there was increasing anxiety in Hong Kong that the standard of English had declined in the previous few decades and that this situation might worsen because of the change in language policy (see section 2.2.3) after the transfer of sovereignty in 1997 (Joseph 1996, Lin 1997).

In fact, concerns about the falling standard of English have been voiced ever since the mid-1980s (Bolton 2002:108). Here are two examples from the media:

> As the territory's burgeoning service businesses boost demand for English speakers, there are signs that the English proficiency of university and secondary-school graduates entering the work force is dropping, forcing local companies to fork out large sums on remedial language training.
>
> From 'Drop in English standard hurts Hong Kong Business'
> *Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly*, June 12, 1995, p.1

> A drop in the number of pupils passing the Use of English examination has raised concern over declining language standards.
>
> From 'Exam results show English skills in decline'
> *South China Morning Post*, May 24, 1994

However, while the general population has been expressing worries about the deterioration in the standard of English (e.g., Lin 1997; Evans *et al.* 1998: 399; McArthur 2002), census results show that the percentage of English speakers significantly increased from 43.4% in 1983 to 65.8% in 1993 (Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998: 43-90, see Table 2.1).

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[7] Please note that Chinese (i.e., Cantonese in the context of Hong Kong) was not recognised as a co-official language in this territory until 1974 (Bolton 2000: 270).

Table 2.1 1983-1993 Surveys: Language Repertoires

Question: 'What language can you speak now?'		
Language variety	1983 (Chinese population)	1993 (Whole population)
Cantonese	98.5%	91.9%
English	43.4%	65.8%
Mandarin (Putonghua)	31.9%	55.6%
Chiuchow	9.3%	5.2%
Hakka	7.5%	6.0%
Szeyap	6.3%	3.3%
Fukien	4.2%	4.1%
Shanghainese	4.1%	2.7%
Cantonese dialects	4.7%	2.5%
Others	3.6%	3.6%

(Cited from Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998: 43-90)

There are problems concerning the comparability of the data as the 1993 census included all people living in Hong Kong while the 1983 census only considered the Chinese ethnic population. Nevertheless, other survey results also provide evidence against the common perception that the standard of English is in decline. As shown in Table 2.2, the percentages of self-professed good English speakers, including those who self-rated as speaking it 'Quite well', 'Well' and 'Very well', rose dramatically[8] from 6.6% in 1983 to 33.7% in 1993. In contrast, the number of 'bad' English speakers, comprising the groups of people who could speak 'Only a few sentences' and 'a little', moderately decreased from 59.7% in 1983 to 48.9% in 1993.

Table 2.2 1983-1993 Surveys: Knowledge of English

Question: 'How well do you speak English?'		
Response	1983	1993
Not at all	33.1%	17.4%
Only a few sentences	23.5%	21.7%
A little	36.2%	27.2%
Quite well	4.8%	26.6%
Well	1.4%	3.3%
Very well	0.4%	3.8%
Not applicable/missing	0.6%	-

(Cited from Bacon-Shone and Bolton, 1998)

[8] The reader should bear in mind that it is unknown what indicators: e.g., vocabulary, grammar or communicative competence, Bacon-Shone and Bolton (1998: 43-90) used to define being capable of speaking a language. I assume that a certain degree of ambiguity is inevitable in a nationwide survey of this kind. Besides, the participants were not linguists and were therefore bound to interpret the question in a common-sense way.

The above results are further supported by an official by-census conducted in 1996 (see Bolton 2000: 275), which suggests that 3.1% of the population speak English as 'a usual language/dialect' and 34.9% claim to speak English as 'another language/dialect' (accounting for a total of 28% of all those claiming to speak English at least occasionally). The increase in the number of English speakers is probably the result of the rapidly expanding educational opportunities in Hong Kong (Bolton 2002: 17, 2003: 110; Joseph 2004: 137). Finally, King (1987: 17) found that the English standard of the best students, who went through the Hong Kong Examinations Authority's (HKEA) English language examination, had not deteriorated, according to a comparative study of the exam results from 1984 and 1986.

Bolton (2003: 108) calls the common assumption that the standard of spoken English in Hong Kong is deteriorating, which is contradicted by the fact that the number of good English speakers is increasing, 'the falling standards myth'. However, the notion that the overall standard of English language has fallen might be derived from another fact, namely, 'the presence of large numbers of students whose English language standards are quite inadequate to cope with an education in the medium of English' (King 1987: 17). Importantly, early in the 1960s, only children from the socially privileged classes were able to progress from an elite primary school to a prestigious secondary school and then enter the Chinese University of Hong Kong or the University of Hong Kong, which were the only two universities in Hong Kong at that time. The University of Hong Kong is the oldest tertiary institution, having been founded in the early 1910s. The Chinese University of Hong Kong, founded in 1963, is the second oldest tertiary education institution. After the 1970s, the educational system was reformed to provide compulsory primary and secondary schooling to all children. In other words, since most schools teach via the medium of English, a system of *elitist bilingualism* became a system of *mass bilingualism*, a change which can be seen in the increase in the percentage of children going to universities from 2-4% in the early 1980s to around 17% in 1996 (Bolton 2002: 34; Lin and Man 2009; Li 2009). At the same time, a number of new universities were funded or founded as a result of the upgrading of post-secondary colleges, and English is the medium of instruction at these institutions. Nowadays, there are eight universities in total compared with only two at the beginning of the 1980s. Hence, the introduction of

compulsory basic education and the establishment of new universities have largely contributed to the spread of English in Hong Kong. The resulting increase in the number of English speakers with varying degrees of proficiency has meant that the English language is now deeply rooted in Hong Kong society. I take this to mean that, although the number of good English speakers has been increasing over time, the overall number of English learners has also been rising, which is probably the reason for an apparent decline in the standard of English in Hong Kong generally.

There is another interpretation here: i.e. Joseph (1996, 2004) interprets the unreduced anxiety about the decline in the standard of English as an indicator that Hong Kong people are aware of the emergence of a new local variety of the language, namely HKE. This new variety of English is different from the one which was conventionally seen as the standard in Hong Kong.[9] Indeed, the fact that the English level of university students is perceived to be deficient is likely to be a sign that 'a local standard is in operation' (Joseph: *ibid.*).

2.2.2.3 The construction of a Hong Kong identity and the emergence of a new middle class in Hong Kong

The Hong Kong identity was actually formed and developed throughout the period from the 1970s to the 1990s (Bolton 2003: 66). Language is usually a premier indicator that a new identity is under construction (Joseph 2004; Tsui 2007: 122). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the acknowledgement of the status of Cantonese in Hong Kong after the 1967 riots was an indicator that a distinct Hong Kong identity was emerging at the same time (Bolton 2003: 66). It is important to consider that because of the political instability created by the Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966 and ended in 1976 in mainland China (Tsui 2007: 129), the connection between Hong Kong and the mainland was cut off. A number of researchers have pointed out (e.g., Fu 1975; Pierson *et al.* 1980; Bolton and Kwok 1990; Pennington and Yue 1994) that it was during this time that the Hong Kong

[9] Generally speaking, standard British English, i.e., RP, is traditionally perceived as the standard in Hong Kong. The situation is in the process of changing gradually and this study intends to contribute to the discussion about the ideologies and attitudes that are accompanying this change.

people's strong loyalty to China gradually gave way to a stronger awareness of a unique Hong Kong identity differing from that of the mainland Chinese.

The consciousness of this identity was strengthened in the following decades, which saw dramatic socio-economic growth. Between the 1960s and 1970s, Hong Kong was transformed from a trading port into 'an industrial colony' (Lui 2003: 165). In the 1980s and 1990s, it gradually became 'a world financial centre and a regional business hub' (*ibid.*). This tremendous economic growth not only brought Hong Kong a sense of pride and belonging (e.g., Bolton and Kwok 1990; Leung 1996: 12; Bolton 2003: 63; Lau 2000: 257; Tsui 2007: 129), but it also offered many opportunities for people to move up into the middle class. As found in the '1992 Hong Kong Middle Class Study' (Lui and Wong 1994), the inflow rate[10] of the middle class is 0.83 in Hong Kong, which indicates that most middle class people were not originally from this socio-economic category but from other class origins, usually more humble. The high inflow rate and the rapid socio-economic development created space for the emergence of a new middle class in Hong Kong, which generally consists of 'better-educated and better-paid professionals, administrators, and managers, and lower-level clerical and white-collar workers' (Leung 1996). The number of people in this class accounted for 36.5% of the whole population in 1982 (Lee 1982: 27). Leung (1996) points out that the new middle class has been expanding and that Hong Kong has been transformed into a society dominated by the middle class.

Both the construction of a distinct identity and the emergence of a new middle class are thus the results of socio-economic success in Hong Kong. The outline of the new local identity is actually based on the recently created middle class. Baker (1983, in Young 1985: 108) proposed the term 'Heung gong yahn' (Hong Kong people), describing the distinct Hong Kong identity in the following way:

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[10] Generally speaking, the inflow rate indicates the number of people who move from one class to another in a society. The exact range of the inflow rate depends on the statistical analysis. However, a high inflow rate indicates the possibility that a community is undergoing a change in class structure. The higher the inflow rate, the more dynamic a social structure is.

> He [or She] is go-getting and highly competitive, tough for survival, quick-thinking and flexible. He [/her] wears Western clothes, speaks English or expects his [/her] children to do so, drinks Western alcohol, has sophisticated tastes in cars and household gadgetry, and expects life to provide a constant stream of excitement and new openings. But he [/she] is not British or Western (merely Westernized). At the same time he [/she] is not Chinese in the same way that citizens of the People's Republic of China are Chinese.

This image characterises a group of people who are well educated, quick-witted, smart, pragmatic, cosmopolitan and bilingual in Chinese and English (Bolton and Kwok 1990: 165; Tsui 2007: 130).[11]

An important aspect of the definition of the Hong Kong identity lies in the value attached to learning and using English, which might be connected with the construct of the linguistic market (Bourdieu 1977, 1991; Sankoff and Laberge 1978; Woolard 1985; Eckert 2000). Competence in the legitimate language, namely, English in the context of Hong Kong, constitutes valuable linguistic capital in the linguistic market. Since there is usually a particular group of people in a society who possess linguistic capital, this group of people tend to provide the model for other people to imitate and their usages of language are likely to spread (Fasold 1984, Zhang 2005). For example, Labov's work in the 1960s (e.g., his New York study) showed that people's speech patterns can be influenced by their social class aspirations, so that those who wish to be connected with the middle or upper classes might adjust their language to sound like their targets (see also Douglas-Cowie 1978; Chambers 2003: 241). In China, Zhang (2005) noticed the spread of a new cosmopolitan variety of Mandarin which is led by Chinese professionals working in foreign businesses. In Ireland, social motivation also lies behind the development of new variety of English – Dartspeak – which is associated with the accent spoken on the southern part of Dublin Bay which runs through a desirable residential area (Hickey 2007: 180). Since the middle class seems to dominate in Hong Kong society and also constitutes the main representative of the Hong Kong identity (Lee 1982; Leung 1996; Siu 1996), the variety of English

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[11] The mass media also made a contribution to the construction of a Hong Kong identity during the same period (Bolton and Kwok 1990, Bolton 2003: 67). Various kinds of Cantonese popular culture: e.g., pop songs, drama series and films, document a local history and a shared memory of Hong Kong.

they speak can be safely assumed to serve as a linguistic target and thus constitute the variety which serves as model (for the upwardly mobile) in Hong Kong.

2.2.3 Hong Kong English post-1997

Although the Basic Law[12] promised that nothing would change, two years before the handover, the government of Hong Kong, which is now officially named the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of China, decided to change the language situation by promoting a new language policy. The most noteworthy change lay in the attempt to promote Putonghua, also called Mandarin, which has served as the official language in mainland China since the establishment of the People's Republic (PRC) in 1949. The plan was to '...develop a civil service which is biliterate in English and Chinese and trilingual in English, Cantonese and Putonghua' (Bolton, 2002: 35; Li 2009: 72). The aim of the new language policy is that Hong Kong people will 'speak fluent Cantonese - the home language of the majority of people of Hong Kong, Putonghua - the national language and standard spoken language, and English - the international lingua franca' (Lai and Byram 2003). Putonghua was promoted as the national language, both in order to remove the colonial taint from Hong Kong and to establish a national identity (Bolton 2002; Joseph 2004). Moreover, since contact with mainland China in both business and politics has been becoming more and more frequent, the need for competence in Putonghua increases continuously (Li 2009: 73). Hence the encouragement to use this language can be seen as a gesture both of solidarity with the mainland as well as an act of decolonisation (Lai 1999). However, the long history of English usage and the large number of Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong have made it difficult to put the policy into practice. Therefore, the handover has resulted in a change of the already existing diglossia into a trilingual situation (Lai and Byram 2003).

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[12] The full name of the law is 'The Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region'. It consists of the basic policies of the People's Republic of China (PRC) regarding Hong Kong that were agreed between the Chinese and British Governments on 19 December 1984, when the Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed. It is based on the principle of 'One Country, Two Systems' and it guaranteed that Hong Kong's previous capitalist system and lifestyle would remain unchanged for 50 years according to Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau.

I shall now discuss the impacts of the new language policy on Hong Kong society with particular focus on the educational system in 2000. Putonghua became a compulsory subject from Primary One (Grade 1) to Secondary Three (Grade 9) and an elective subject for the public school-leaving examination (Tsui 2007: 135). At that time, it was considered likely that the teaching of Putonghua would expand to nearly all levels of primary and secondary education within a few years (Leung and Wong 1996). In 1999 Whelpton expressed the concern that the promotion of Putonghua in Hong Kong might lead to two results. Firstly, Cantonese might be replaced by Putonghua. Secondly, Cantonese might become a case of 'language suicide' (Whelpton 1999) because of the increasingly frequent contact with Putonghua. However, as we will see below, more than ten years after the change of sovereignty, neither of these scenarios has come into being. There is no sign that Putonghua is 'replacing' Cantonese in Hong Kong, despite the increasing number of Putonghua speakers. Attitudinal factors seem to suggest that 'Putonghua [is] ... only [to] be learned as a third language in Hong Kong, mainly for its instrumental value' (Lai 2001; see also Chapter 3, section 3. 3. 3). On the contrary, Hong Kong people's perceptions of the status of Cantonese are much more positive than was earlier assumed (Sin and Roebuck 1996: 252). The expansion of Putonghua, which is nowadays employed in parallel with Cantonese and English, has therefore been less dramatic than was planned and expected (Bolton 2002: 8). In sum, the post-1997 language policy was changed from one official language, i.e., English, into two languages, i.e., English and Chinese (both Cantonese and Mandarin). The educational system in Hong Kong is characterised by an emphasis on mother-tongue education (i.e., Cantonese) rather than English-medium education. These changes might influence the future development of HKE. Especially pertinent in this regard is the question of whether there is any space left for HKE and how it is coping with the new situation involving the two other languages: Cantonese and Putonghua.

Although there have been schools that taught in Cantonese ever since the colonial period, the English language was *de facto* the most widely used medium of

instruction of secondary and university education[13] (Bolton 2002). With 1997 approaching, the Hong Kong government decided to change the relative status of the two languages and a greater emphasis was placed on mother-tongue education, that is, Cantonese replaced English as the medium of instruction. Shortly before the change of sovereignty in 1997, a policy intended to reinforce Chinese-instructed education was suddenly announced.[14] Only 100 (later this figure was increased to 114) out of 460 secondary schools were given permission to continue to use English as the medium of instruction (Tsui *et al.* 1999; Evans 2002: 98; Bolton 2002: 9).[15] The other 346 secondary schools were forced to change to Chinese, or rather, more precisely, colloquial Cantonese and written traditional Chinese. This prompted a number of debates in which education in English was defended. I will outline the gist of the arguments in the following paragraphs.

The return of Hong Kong to mainland China in 1997 did not affect the use of English in professional domains (Evans and Green 2001). To date, English still plays a dominant role in the sectors of government, education, law and business in Hong Kong. This is obviously also owing to the fact that English is the most widely used *lingua franca* in the world. It is therefore unsurprising that English is still preferred as the medium of instruction by an overwhelming majority of parents and students (Li 2009: 79). Indeed, an attitudinal study by Lai (2001) showed that Hong Kong students consider proficiency in English to be important for achieving a better

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[13] In the colonial era before 1997, education policy-makers in Hong Kong adopted a *laissez-faire* approach (Bolton 2002: 37, Tsui 2007) which allowed the principals of individual schools to select the teaching medium for their schools.

[14] As Bolton (2002: 39) points out, this decision was made by the colonial Hong Kong government rather than by the first Beijing-appointed post-colonial Chief Executive of Hong Kong. The reason for such a sudden change in the education policy remains unclear. There are, however, two possible explanations. One is that the government followed the advice of local educationalists, who appealed for a more suitable educational system in Hong Kong for children who have lower ability in English and study in lower-band schools (in Hong Kong, schools are categorised into bands according to socio-economic factors, such as the number of qualified teaching staff and the availability of learning resources). The other possible explanation is that the use of Cantonese as the medium of instruction could give support to a local Hong Kong identity, which would therefore help Hong Kong gain a higher degree of autonomy from mainland China.

[15] The 114 schools which were allowed to 'continue' teaching in English since they meet the three criteria laid down by the Education Department in 1997 (for details see Tsui *et al.* 1999: 197).

academic performance or for their future career development (for further details, see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3).

Public concern over the reduction in the number of English-medium schools and the significant parental demand for English instruction are also connected to the dimension of social class (Bolton 2002: 40). In Hong Kong, as elsewhere, a relationship between class differences and educational attainment can be found (Lee 1998: 171).[16] Indeed, an important reason as to why children from the lower-middle class acquire a poor command of the English language, which ultimately affects their educational attainment, is that such learners have a lower chance of being accepted by prestigious schools which usually provide better quality programmes (Siu 1988: 224). As Bolton (2002: 40) points out, many parents, especially those from the lower-middle class, worry that English-medium schools will be largely the preserve of children from the higher socio-economic class, since they are sent to better kindergartens before entering the more prestigious primary schools and eventually the English-medium middle schools. In other words, prestigious English-medium secondary schools are likely to be dominated by children from higher socio-economic backgrounds. Importantly, English proficiency is a determining factor in the selection of students for higher-level education in Hong Kong (Li 2009: 77). This educational situation in Hong Kong is thus a vicious circle: children who have good English proficiency can enter a prestigious school which provides them with an English-medium education; children from the lower socio-economic class, on the other hand, are less likely to be able to access the restricted number of English-medium schools. This effectively means that children from the lower socio-economic group do not compete on an equal footing with those in the higher socio-economic group regarding access to educational opportunities, which, in turn, provide the necessary linguistic background for access to prestigious jobs.

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[16] According to Wong and Hui's (1992: 32) study, 80% of upper service class respondents attained upper secondary or above qualifications, whereas only 18% of working class respondents obtained secondary or above qualifications.

According to the October 1999 Policy Address of the Chief Executive of the HKSAR, the public image of Hong Kong that the government wants to project is that of a 'world-class city ... comparable to that of New York in North America and London in Europe' rather than merely a major Chinese city. This document also affirms the promotion of the use of English, the improvement in the quality of English teachers and the method of instruction in schools 'to ensure that students master basic language skills at an early stage of their education' (*ibid.*). In the newest Policy Address (2008-09), the succeeding Chief Executive has reiterated the importance of English for Hong Kong and proposed 'to commit additional resources to enhance the quality of English teaching and learning'. At least at the university level, the position of the Beijing Government on language has been clear and consistent. It does not support the move towards either Cantonese or Putonghua as the medium of instruction (Joseph 2004: 158). On the contrary, it encourages Hong Kong to continue its English-medium instruction since mainland China has many of Putonghua-medium universities. It thus seems reasonable to assume that, unless a strong counter-policy is put into practice, HKE will continue to exist – at least at the highly educated echelons of society.

However, in spite of the long and rich history of English in Hong Kong, there is little local recognition of the existence of HKE (e.g., Luk and Richard 1982; Luk 1998; Li 1999; Evans 2000; Stibbard 2004). From English-language teachers to the mass media, the results of previous language studies indicate that the model of English used for teaching and which speakers aspire to is clearly exonormative and there is little support for the notion of HKE (for further details, see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3). Indeed, the negative attitude towards HKE is unsurprising since almost all other new varieties, including American, Australian, New Zealand English (as documented in the case studies from Schneider 2007), and especially those in post-colonial countries, such as Singapore and the Philippines, have tended to be evaluated negatively by the local population, at least in the early stages (e.g., Joseph 1996 and 2004; Gonzalez 1997; Bolton 2003; Wee 2004; Cavallaro and Chin 2009; Lim 2009). Indeed, research has shown that the local recognition of new varieties of English may take several years or even decades after the withdrawal of the colonial power (Joseph 1996: 175). The current study is intended to investigate the attitudes of the Hong Kong people now that after more than ten years have elapsed since the end of

colonialism in Hong Kong. A comparison with previous studies will give me the opportunity to detect changes in attitude, which it is hoped will shed some light on the future of HKE.

Some scholars have pointed out that HKE has the potential to serve as a marker of the Hong Kong identity (Bolton and Kwok 1990, Joseph 1996, Chan 2002). After losing its British colonial status, a simple Chinese identity is unlikely to be accepted as a substitute by most Hong Kong people since they tend to regard themselves as 'Hongkongers' or 'Hong Kong Chinese', a view which is supported by the results of many previous language attitude studies (e.g., Bolton and Luke 1999; Lau 2000; Lai 2005; reviewed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3). The unique Hong Kong identity appeared in the mid-1970s, because of the ideological barrier that a rose between mainland China and Hong Kong during the Cultural Revolution. HKE might become a part of Hong Kong's identity in the future, which helps to put a linguistic angle - one distinct from that of the Chinese mainland - to a collective Hong Kong identity.

The following section contains an overview of the classification of HKE into the broad and the educated types, as well as the typical and distinctive features of HKE phonology. Since the current study based the examination of people's attitudes on their responses to accent differences only, no syntactic, morphological or discourse phenomena will be investigated here.[17]

2.3 The classification of the broad Hong Kong accent (HKbr) and the educated Hong Kong accent (HKed)

Bolton and Kwok (1990: 149-150) were the first to subdivide HKE into two local varieties, HKbr and HKed, and these key distinctions will be a central issue here.

HKbr refers to speakers who have a lower proficiency of English and are relatively close to (but not reaching) marginal bilingualism. Thus, HKbr, similar to the

[17] For studies concentrating on the uniqueness of HKE syntax or discourse, please see Yip and Matthews (1991), Newbrook (1998), Gisborne (2000), Chan (2004).

mesolect in a continuum, refers to a variety with a strong Hong Kong accent; it is marked by a high frequency of HKE features. By contrast, HKed, similar to the acrolect, refers to the accent of speakers who are moving towards the exonormativity of a native-speaker accent. Therefore, these speakers 'are proficient in Chinese and English and still retain many localized features of speech' (Bolton and Kwok 1990: 149). Acrolectal speakers usually 'received their secondary and tertiary education in Hong Kong' and work as 'civil servants, businessmen and educators' (*ibid.*). HKbr speakers, who were not mentioned in Bolton and Kwok's work, are usually people who receive secondary or lower schooling in Hong Kong and do not work in the professions.

From the above discussion, it seems that HKbr and HKed represent two developmental stages in the cline of proficiency. It would be difficult to find a clear-cut point at which to divide these two varieties. Similarly, S. Poon (2007: 14-17) has argued that HKbr and HKed can be distinguished at the suprasegmental level on the basis of the following features: (1) The prominence of the syllables: syllables are pronounced unequally by native English speakers (e.g., RP), whereas a HKbr speaker pronounces all syllables 'almost invariably at a high pitch and for [a] similar duration' (S. Poon 2007: 14). HKed speakers, on the other hand, tend to pattern somewhere in the middle in terms of differential syllable timing. (2) Stressed/unstressed function words, such as *the, of* and *a,* are pronounced as unstressed weak forms with a schwa by RP speakers, whereas these words are stressed by HKbr speakers. HKed speakers do not stress these function words, but they still retain the strong form rather than a schwa.

However, S. Poon's clear-cut of division of HKE seems overly simplistic. As Bolton and Kwok (1990, see section 2.4.2) point out, the two above-mentioned features can and do occur in both HKbr and HKed accents. However, S. Poon's statements can be regarded as describing probabilistic tendencies of speakers of the two codes. Indeed, the above discussion emphasises the dynamic position of HKed, which is fully consistent with Hung's conceptualisation of the linguistic system in Hong Kong as a continuum (see Figure 2.3 below). Hung (2002a: 122) pointed out that 'the internalized phonological system of an individual speaker of HKE is, like any interlanguage system, dynamic and evolving rather than static'. It is thus possible to

perceive this dynamic as a continuum with an 'idealised' HKE phonology (which consists of all the HKE phonological features) at one end and standard British or American English phonology (whichever happens to serve as the speaker's model) at the other. I have thus chosen to conceptualise HKbr and HKed as two general notions which are located at certain points along a continuum (See Figure 2.3). HKbr is usually seen as being close to the 'idealised HKE phonology' end of the continuum. It is thus likely to possess almost all the features of the idealised HKE phonology. In contrast, HKed is generally seen as being close to the native norm at the other end of the continuum and manifests fewer idealised HKE features. The main difference between the two varieties seems to lie in the frequency of occurrence of these features. To my knowledge, no research has been published on the frequency of occurrence of the above-mentioned features (this frequency is shown as a grey area in Figure 2.3). This could be a problem if a clear boundary is needed for distinguishing HKbr or HKed. Individual HKE speakers differ from each other in how many features of the idealised HKE phonology they exhibit and thus in which points they occupy on this continuum, as shown in Figure 2.3.

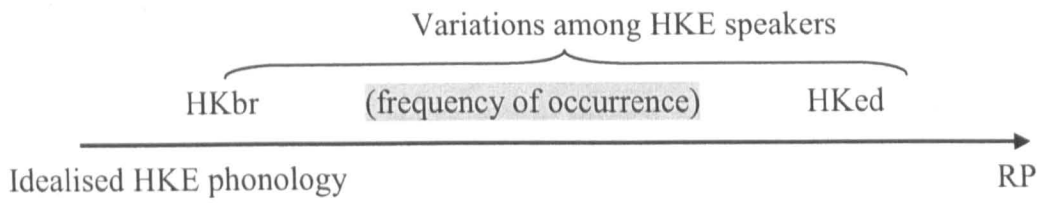

Figure 2.3 The continuum of HKE phonology

Hence, with regard to the stimuli used for this study, I chose recordings of HKbr which exhibit a much greater propensity to produce the accent features typical of HKE. These speakers are thus closer to the idealised HKE. In comparison, the recordings representing HKed contain fewer of these features and are therefore situated closer to the end of the continuum that approximates exonormative norms.

2.4 The phonology of Hong Kong English

In this section I will summarise the results of three previous studies which examined the segmental and suprasegmental phonology of HKE. Furthermore, I shall provide accompanying examples of some of the phonological features as they were produced

in the recordings made by the Hong Kong speakers which formed the basis of this study.

Compared with other varieties of English in Asia, HKE has a considerably simpler phonemic inventory in both its vocalic and consonantal systems. As far as I am aware, the study conducted by Bolton and Kwok (1990) was the first to describe the phonology of HKE. Their analysis is based on a corpus of spoken HKE data, which consist of 'tape-recordings of television and radio news broadcasts; speeches in the Legislative Council; interviews with the local employees of banks, financial institutions and trading companies; and interviews with students at the University of Hong Kong' (Bolton and Kwok 1990: 150). The authors note 'a wide range of variation and diffuseness associated with the use of this accent' and thus propose dividing HKE into two distinct types – 'educated' and 'broad', as discussed above.

Hung (2000) presents the phonological characteristics of HKE from two perspectives: 1) a phonemic inventory 2) systematic variation in the phonetic realisations of these phonemes. Hung's findings are based on recordings of fifteen university students reading aloud 281 words. His analysis is based on instrumental measurements as well as on impressionistic analysis (Hung 2000: 121). One criticism of Hung (2000) is that since his study is based on word lists, there is little evidence of 'how the sounds would actually occur in connected speech' (Deterding *et al.* 2008: 149).

To fill this gap, Deterding *et al.* (2008) illustrated the features of HKE pronunciation, both in terms of frequency counts as well as in terms of their acoustic measurements, in actual conversation and used interview data with fifteen fourth-year undergraduates at the Hong Kong Institute of Education. The study simply confirms the results of previous studies, so that it seems to make little difference whether the analysis is instrumental or not or indeed whether the data collection methods vary. To some extent, this shows that HKE is a variety of English with its own distinctive and systematic phonological features.

2.4.1 Segmental features of HKE

In the following sections I shall discuss the vocalic system of HKE – monophthongs, vowel reduction and diphthongs – as well as the consonantal system. Owing to the

settlement history, regional situation and ethnic composition of Hong Kong, these systems of HKE are clearly influenced by the phonology of Cantonese (Bolton and Kwok 1990; Hung 2000; Deterding *et al.* 2008). However, they also manifest some features typical of New Englishes (Jenkins 2009), especially those shared with other Southeast Asian countries. Compared with the latter, HKE has a considerably simpler phonemic inventory in both its vocalic and consonantal systems. I will use RP as a reference variety since it is conventional to compare a non-standard variety with a standard variety such as this (see also Bolton and Kwok 1990; Hung 2000; Candler 2001; Gupta 2005; Hickey 2007; Deterding *et al.* 2008).

2.4.1.1 The vocalic system of HKE.

HKE contains as few as 7 monophthongs (Hung 2002: 126, see Figure 2.4), compared to RP's 12, including schwa /ə/ (See Figure 2.5).

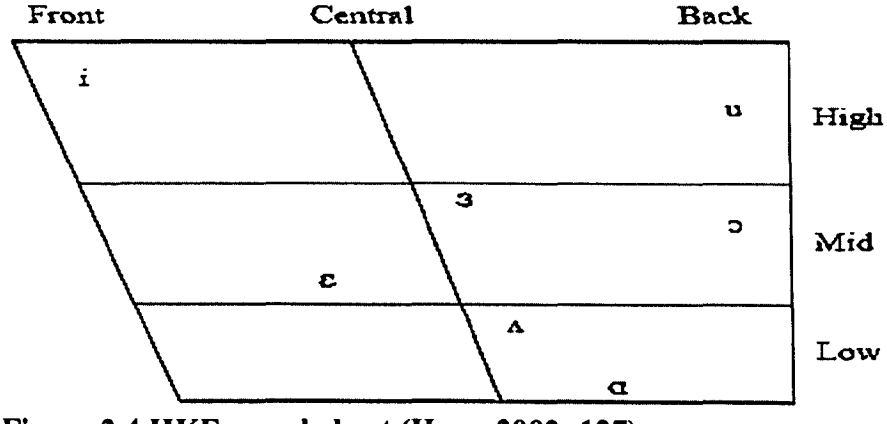

Figure 2.4 HKE vowel chart (Hung 2002: 127)

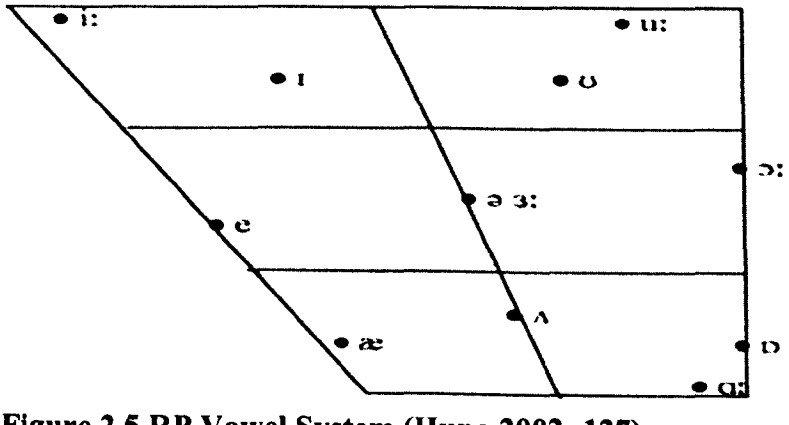

Figure 2.5 RP Vowel System (Hung 2002: 127)

The fact that the underlying native language, Cantonese, has a simpler vocalic system than RP (see Table 2.3) can be assumed to be the main reason for a simple

vocalic system in HKE (Bolton and Kwok 1990; Hung 2002). Indeed, other English varieties spoken in this region, i.e., in Singapore, Malaysia, China and Japan, demonstrate similar systems. However, HKE is distinguished from these by the vowel contrast between /ʌ/ and /ɑ/. This is because the contrast exists in Cantonese[18] and is thus not lost in HKE.

Table 2.3 Cantonese Vowel System (Hung 2002: 127)[19]

	Front	Central	Back
High	i, y		u
Mid	ɛ, ɸ		ɔ
Low		ʌ	ɑ

I will now discuss some defining features of the HKE vocalic system. One essential systematic feature of HKE and a principal reason for the vastly reduced number of phonemes in this system is the lack of a long/short distinction. On the basis of instrumental measurements, Hung (2002) determined that there is indeed a complete merger between long and short vowels in the following vowels (See Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 The lack of long/short distinction in HKE (Hung 2002: 125)

Words	HKE vowel	RP vowels
heed – hid, heat – hit	/i/	/i:/ - /ɪ/
head – had, bet – bat	/ɛ/	/e/ - /æ/
hoot – hood	/u/	/u:/ - /ʊ/
hawed – hot, caught – cot	/ɔ/	/ɔ:/ - /ɒ/

The results of later studies, such as those of S. Poon (2007: 13) and Deterding *et al.* (2008), confirm this description, especially regarding the merger of /i:/ and /ɪ/; /e/ and /æ/. To a large extent, these mergers are a result of the influence of Cantonese, which also lacks the long/short distinction. Bolton and Kwok (1990) argue that lax, e.g., /i/, /ɔ/, /u/, replace the tense vowels in HKE. For example, /ɔ:/ in *more, north, warm* is realised as [ɔ], and /i:/ in *agree* is pronounced as [i].

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[18] For example, in Cantonese, 'heart' is pronounced [sʌm], whereas 'three' is [sɑm] (Hung 2002:126).

[19] Please note that this Cantonese vowel system is the same as that in Hung's (2002: 127) article.

Deterding *et al.* (2008: 166-169) pointed to another distinctive aspect of the vowel system of HKE, i.e., a lack of **vowel reduction**. In HKE, the vast majority of function words, e.g., *and, for* and *to*, as noted in section 2.3 above, are pronounced with full vowels, where reduced vowels may be expected in Inner Circle varieties of English (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5 Vowel quality in function words in HKE (Deterding *et al.* 2008: 169)

word	the frequency of realising as a full vowel	the frequency of realising as a reduced vowel
and	39	3
as	4	0
at	2	0
but	3	2
for	14	2
from	1	5
of	13	7
that	3	1
to	24	7
was	15	5
total	118	32

In fact, the tendency to use full vowels can be found in a range of New Englishes around the world, e.g., the Caribbean (Wells 1982: 570), West Africa (Wells 1982: 639), India (Kachru 2005: 46), China (Deterding 2006), and the ASEAN[20] countries (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006). HKE is thus grouped with these varieties and 'it seems that this [lack of vowel reduction] is becoming the norm for new varieties of English' in this region (Deterding *et al.* 2008: 168).

The absence of vowel reduction and the regular use of full vowels have also been confirmed in other studies (Bolton and Kwok 1990: 152; Setter 2006: 772; S. Poon 2007: 10) and indeed the recordings for the current study also contain instances of this phenomenon.

Lack of reduction can also be attributed to the influence of Cantonese (Chan 2000: 77; Setter 2006: 763; S. Poon 2007: 11; Deterding *et al.* 2008: 169). Since English is

[20] ASEAN stands for Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which comprises Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

a stress-timed language, 'all the unstressed syllables that come between stressed ones have to be squeezed into the allotted time' (Chan 2000: 77). This can result in vowel reduction, especially in function words. In contrast, in syllable-timed languages, such as Cantonese, all syllables, stressed and unstressed, tend to be produced at similar time intervals and have the same duration. HKE is conventionally described as a syllable-timed variety of English rather than a stress-timed variety (Chan 2000, Setter 2006, Deterding *et al.* 2008, Kirkpatrick *et al.* 2008). Consequently, reduced vowels are rarely found in HKE.

HKE contains 8 diphthong contrasts (Hung 2002: 128, see Table 2.6). This richness in diphthongs is a distinctive feature of HKE. Other varieties, such as Singapore or Indian English, by contrast, have a simpler inventory of true diphthongs.

Table 2.6 HKE Diphthongs (Hung 2002 : 129)

/eɪ/	*hate*	/ɔɪ/	*toyed*
/aɪ/	*height*	/ɪə/	*here*
/aʊ/	*house*	/ɛə/	*hair*
/oʊ/	*coat*	/ʊə/	*poor*

Importantly, HKE includes the diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/, which are usually realised as monophthongs in many varieties of English, including those spoken in Scotland and Wales (Wells 1982: 407, 382), as well as in Southeast Asian countries such as Singapore (Wee 2004: 1017-33) and Malaysia (Baskaran 2004: 1034-46). We can also look to the influence of Cantonese as a probable explanation for this finding. The trajectories of these two diphthongs in HKE (see Figure 2.6) and in Cantonese (Zee 1999: 59, see Figure 2.7) reveal that /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ not only exist in both Cantonese and HKE, but also that their formant trajectories are very similar in both languages.

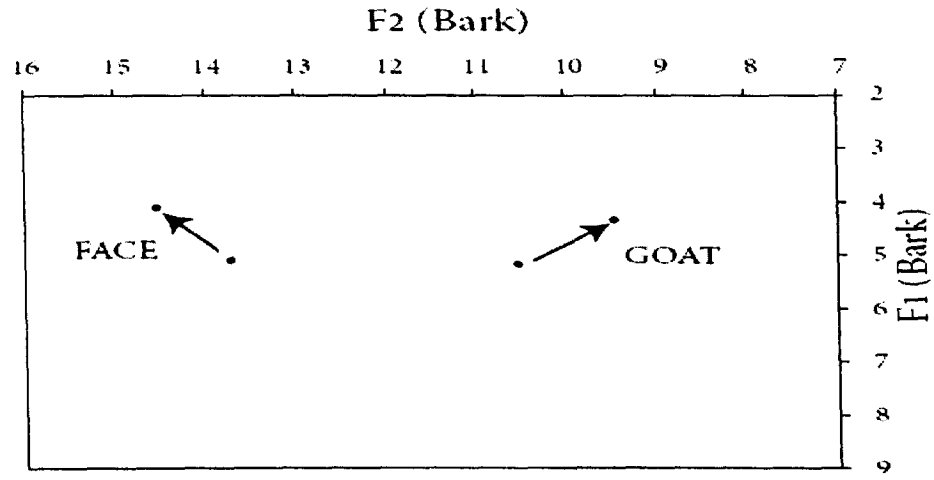

Figure 2.6 Formant trajectories of /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ in HKE (Deterding et al. 2008: 165)

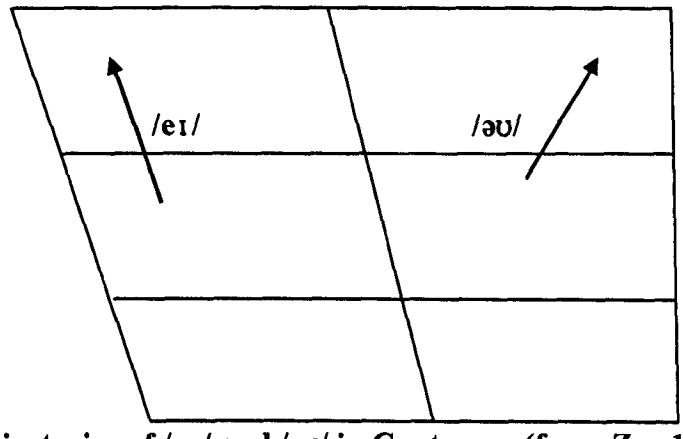

Figure 2.7 Trajectories of /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ in Cantonese (from Zee 1999: 59)

2.4.1.2 The consonantal system of HKE

In this section we shall summarise the consonantal system of HKE displayed in Table 2.7 based on Hung's (2000) study.

Table 2.7 HKE consonant chart (Hung 2002:139)

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Inter-Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b			t d			k g		
Affricate					tʃ dʒ				
Fricative		f	θ	s	ʃ				
Lateral Approximant				l					
Approximant				r		j		w	h
Nasal	m			n			ŋ		

(1) Stops/Affricates and processes in HKE that affect these consonants

HKE has six distinctive stops and two distinctive affricates: /p/ *pea*, /b/ *bee*, /t/ *tie*, /d/ *die*, /k/ *cot*, /g/ *got*, /tʃ/ *cheap*, /dʒ/ *jeep*. Importantly, in HKE there is a tendency to simplify final consonant clusters (Bolton and Kwok 1990: 153). In fact, the data obtained by Deterding *et al.* (2008) demonstrated a high frequency of deletion of word-final plosives: 47.2% of deleted /t/, 62.5% of /d/ and 58.8% of /k/. The current study also exhibits instances of this regular deletion in the words *wind, should, considered, fold* and *around*, in which /d/ is deleted, and in *cloak* and *took*, in which /k/ is deleted by speakers representing the broad and educated HKE accents respectively.

(2) Fricatives

HKE lacks the voiced/voiceless contrast in fricatives. All fricatives are voiceless, which means that the consonant system of HKE only contains four such consonants: /f/, /θ/, /s/, /ʃ/. According to Hung's (2002a: 130-131) data, there is no evidence for the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ in any position and it is therefore possible to assume that words like *zeal*, *raze* and *razing* are pronounced [sil], [reɪs] and [reɪsɪŋ] respectively. There is also no evidence for the voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/, as it is realised as voiceless [ʃ] in HKE. Thus, words such as *pressure* and *pleasure* are pronounced [pɹɛʃə] and [plɛʃə] respectively.

The absence of the voiced interdental fricative /ð/ is owing to its being realised as [d] in word-initial or intervocalic positions, as in *this* [dis] and *brother* [brʌdə] (see Bolton and Kwok 1990: 153; Deterding *et al.* 2008: 156). In the recordings that form the basis of the current study, I also observed instances of this typical HKE realisation. For example, around 62% of RP [ð] in *the, then, they, than, other* and *that* was realised with [d] by HKbr speakers and 20% by HKed speakers.

However, around half of the HKE subjects did produce a voiceless interdental fricative /θ/, as in *thin* [θin] and *clothing* [kloʊθɪŋ]. The other half of the subjects realised /θ/ as /f/ in all environments, for example, *thin* as [fin], and *clothing* [kloʊfɪŋ] (Hung 2000). Only five subjects realised /θ/ as [t] instead of [f] (Deterding *et al.*

2008: 155). In other words, the majority of the subjects were consistent in using /θ/ or /f/, which confirms Hung's (2000) analysis. In the current study, /θ/ in *north* was realised as [f] by two HKbr speakers in all four instances.

It is worth noting that the relatively consistent realisation of /θ/ as [f] in my data contrasts with the situation in most Southeast Asian countries, where the use of the stop [t] for /θ/ is more common (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006). In the English spoken in mainland China and Taiwan, /θ/ tends to be realised as [s] (Deterding *et al.* 2008: 156). One possible reason for HKE's divergence from this trend could be that the acoustic quality /f/ in Cantonese is similar to /θ/, which 'results in /f/ rather than /s/ being used as a replacement' for /θ/ in HKE (*ibid.*).

(3) Nasals, Approximants and Liquids

HKE has three nasal consonants, /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, and three approximants, /w/, /j/ and /h/. The remaining consonants, /l/ and /r/, are interesting to a certain extent and unique in HKE (Bolton and Kwok 1990; Zee 1999; Hung 2000; Stibbard 2004; Deterding *et al.* 2008).

Bolton and Kwok (1990) and Hung (2000) report that /l/ is often freely interchanged with /n/ at the onset of a syllable. For example, *line* may be realised as [naɪn], and *number* as [lʌmbə]. In the current study, the initial sound in *north* tends to be realised as [l]. Deterding *et al.* (2008) interpreted this phenomenon as 'a result of influence from recent changes in Cantonese', where /n/ is rarely used in syllable-initial position and /l/ is likely to replace /n/ (Zee 1999: 60). However, in the data of Deterding *et al.* (2008: 160), substitution of /l/ for /n/ is rare and it is unknown why this merger happens less frequently amongst certain subjects. Further research is needed in order to investigate whether the interchangeability between /l/ and /n/ is subject to phonological or social constraints.

Hung (2000) notes the vocalisation of /l/ in HKE, whereby dark /l/ is either replaced by a vowel (vocalisation) or even deleted.[21] The vocalisation or deletion of dark /l/ is common in many varieties of English, such as Singapore English or some varieties of British English (Deterding *et al.* 2008: 161, 2005: 50). In HKE, this replacement is conditioned by the preceding context. In the syllable coda, /l/ is realised as [w] in HKE when it is preceded by a [-back] vowel, e.g., *feel* /fiw/. It is deleted when it is preceded by a [+back] vowel, such as *call* [kɔ] and *cool* [ku] (Hung 2000: 350, see also Bolton and Kwok 1990: 153).

The status of liquids in Chinese English contact varieties has been a topic of much discussion, both in the lay press as well as in the linguistic literature. Importantly, the realisation of /r/, in particular, is constrained by a number of factors. According to Deterding *et al.* (2008: 159), /r/ is only replaced by /l/ or vice versa when following the initial velar consonants /k/ or /g/. For instance, *crowded* is realised as [klaʊdɪd], and *English* as [ɪŋgrɪʃ] (see also Deterding *et al.* 2008: 160). Indeed, among a small number of HKE speakers, /r/ is probably entirely absent since they pronounce /r/ as [w] in all contexts (Hung 2000: 352). For the majority of speakers, /r/ is realised as an alveolar approximant [ɹ] in syllable-initial position, e.g., *rice* as [ɹaɪs] (*ibid.*). Both /r/ and /w/ are realised as [w] when preceded by another consonant. For example, both *tries* and *twice* are realised as [tʃwaɪs]. Bolton and Kwok (1990: 153) and Stibbard (2004: 131) pointed out that /r/ and /l/ can be omitted when following initial labials such as /p/ or /f/, as in *applied* [ʌpaɪd], *primary* [paɪməri]. In the current study, /l/ is omitted in the word *fold* by the speakers of the broad Hong Kong accent.

2.4.2 Suprasegmental features of HKE

Since there are only a few published studies on the suprasegmental features of HKE, I will refer primarily to the findings of Bolton and Kwok (1990), who describe four

[21] Hung (2000) chose the notation [w] to refer to the vocalisation of dark [l]. The reader should therefore note that the 'vocalisation' and the use of [w] refer to the same phenomenon here, as also stated in Deterding *et al.* 2008: 161.

intonation patterns characteristics of HKE. Each pattern is exemplified with a diagram, as in Error! Reference source not found., which depicts amplitude (A) and frequency (F). I will now illustrate all four patterns in turn.

A high-rising intonation is used for all questions, including 'neutral' wh-questions. As Figure 2.8 demonstrates, a HKE speaker (on the left) uses a rising tone, especially for the last word 'to', for the question 'who was he talking to?', whereas the RP speaker (on the right) does not.[22]

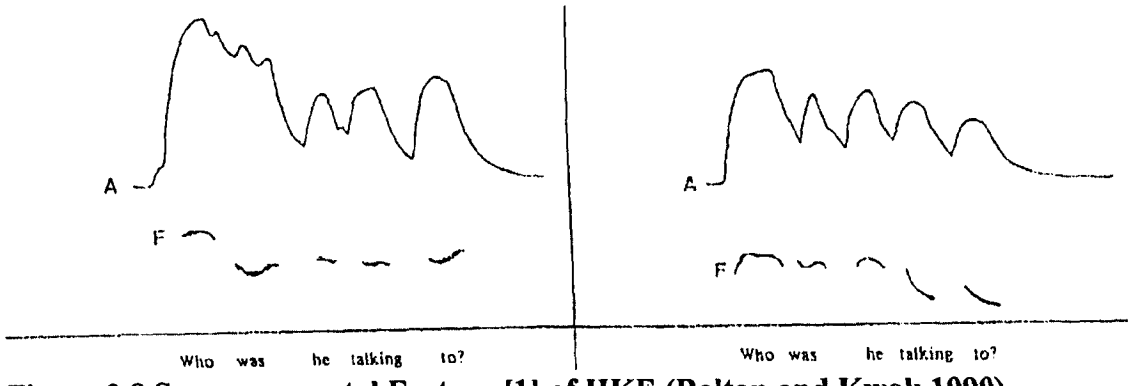

Figure 2.8 Suprasegmental Feature [1] of HKE (Bolton and Kwok 1990)

Most syllables tend to retain their separate identities,[23] and the opposition between strong and weak syllables is largely levelled, especially between content words and function words. Figure 2.9 illustrates this fact: the function word (preposition) 'from' is given a greater degree of prominence – both in terms of length and amplitude change – in HKE (on the left) than in RP (on the right), even though in both cases the question is a neutral one with no implication or special meaning intended.

[22] This result is similar to that of Grabe and Post (2002): in *wh*-questions, the falling nuclear pattern is more frequent and produced in 61% of their data amongst RP speakers. Although there is a relatively high level of intonation variation and it is difficult to conclude a default intonation pattern among RP speakers (Grabe and Post 2002, Grabe *et al.* 2005), popular patterns produced by the majority of the population can be adopted as learning models.

[23] This section is related to the above discussion (see section 2.4.1) in which I argued that HKE is a syllable-timed language.

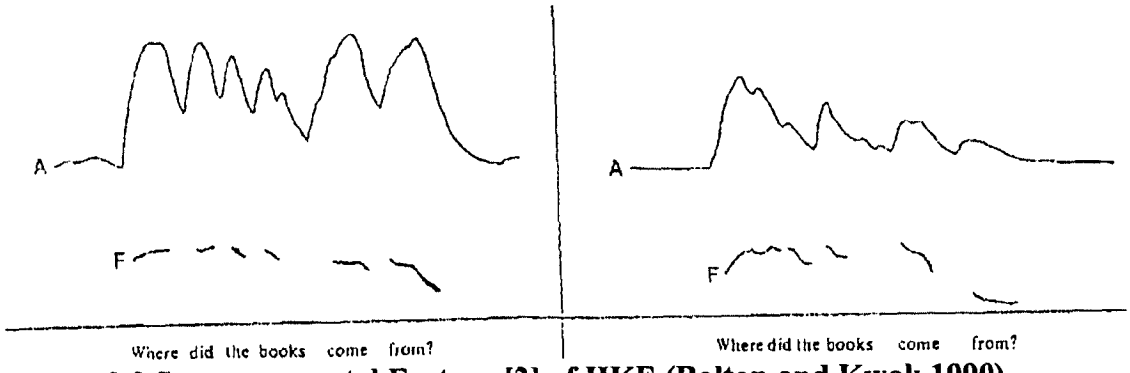

Figure 2.9 Suprasegmental Feature [2] of HKE (Bolton and Kwok 1990)

In HKE, the tonic of a repeated item is not reduced, whereas in RP English the tonic stress is usually placed elsewhere in the tone group. As shown in Figure 2.10, HKE (on the left) gives a considerable degree of prominence to the repeated item 'dogs'.

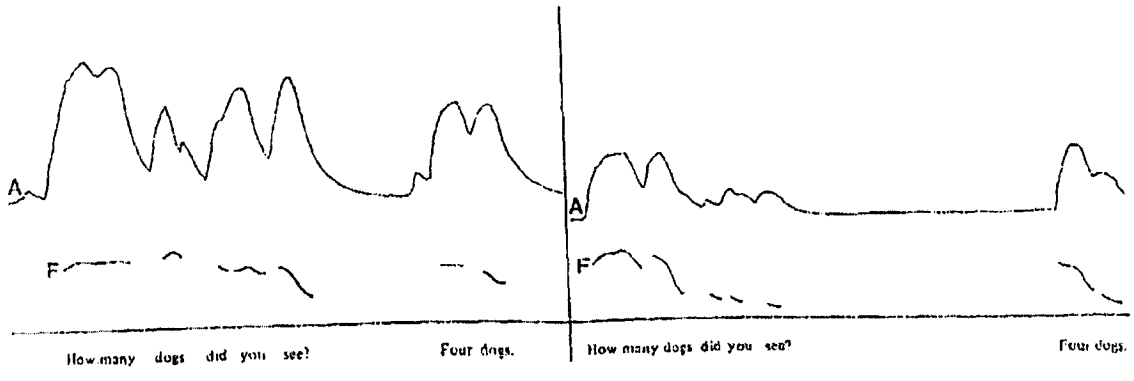

Figure 2.10 Suprasegmental Feature [3] of HKE (Bolton and Kwok 1990)

Deterding *et al.*'s study (2008:170) also confirmed that repeated or predictable information still retains its tonic stress. This effect is illustrated in the following instance (cited from Deterding *et al.* 2008: 170), where the tonic stress is shown with capitalised and underlined letters.

> 'that was my first time to London because um...the immersion semester was the FIRST time I went to English [sic], and er yeah, so my stay in LONdon was the first exPERience I HAD of the CITy.'[24]

[24] 'The last word *city* is repeated as *London* is a city based on a common sense' (Deterding *et al.* 2008: 170).

Furthermore, in HKE, there is no accent shift when emphasis is intended as shown in the word 'did' (on the left in Figure 2.11), whereas there is a shift of accent from its normal unmarked to a marked position to achieve emphasis in RP English (on the right in Figure 2.11).

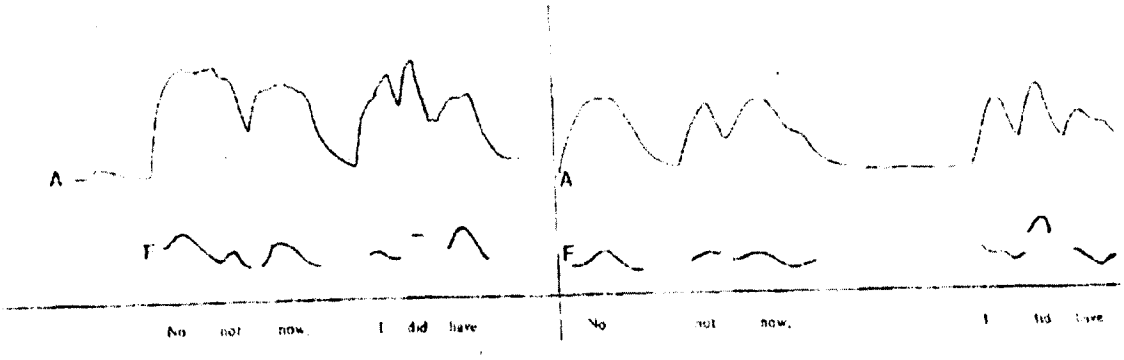

Figure 2.11 Suprasegmental Feature [4] of HKE (Bolton and Kwok 1990)

Deterding *et al.* (2008: 170) noticed another suprasegmental feature of HKE, which was not included in Bolton and Kwok (1990) but which is widely found in other Southeast Asian countries such as Singapore, namely, the unexpected emphasis on pronouns and determiners (see examples below).

> 'WE enjoyed that a lot'.
> 'I will tell you about MY summer holiday'.
> 'I enjoyed THIS job very much'.

Most indigenous languages in Southeast Asia, including Cantonese in Hong Kong, are null-subject, which means that a subject pronoun can be omitted if it is discourse old or contextually inferable (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006: 400). On the other hand, in Chinese, lack of pronoun drop usually indicates that its referent is of importance in the discourse context and it is consequently stressed. The stressing of determiners may also be related to the fact that there is no pre-nominal determiner, i.e., *the*, *a* or *an*, in the Chinese language. Consequently, the determiners, such as *this*, *that*, *these* or *those*, are only used when an emphasis is important and they are therefore stressed. In the current study, this phenomenon could also be observed: most determiners were stressed by the HKE speakers, such as '*the* Sun', '*the* North Wind', '*a* traveler', '*the* traveler', '*his* cloak'.

The above four features, as well the fifth one found by Deterding *et al.* (2008), may be generalised into two main trends in HKE: firstly, the main stress is more likely to occur at the end of a sentence (Suprasegmental Features [1] and [2]). Even when there is an emphatic word which might be expected to become the focus of information (Suprasegmental Feature [4]), the main stress still falls on the end of a sentence rather than on the emphatic word (Bolton and Kwok 1990). Secondly, repeated information, inferable information and pronouns are unlikely to reduce their stress (Suprasegmental Feature [3]; Deterding *et al.* 2008).

This chapter has outlined the historical development of the English language in Hong Kong and reviewed previous studies of HKE phonology, as well as showing how I classified HKE into two further varieties: HKed and HKbr. In Chapter 2, the nature of linguistic attitudes in general will be discussed and a critical review of previous language attitude studies with a focus on Hong Kong will be presented; in this chapter the specific research focuses and questions will also be outlined. Chapter 3 will provide a detailed description of the research method used in the current study, as well as of the research process. In Chapters 4 and 5 the findings from the data collected from the fieldwork conducted in Hong Kong will be analysed, with particular focus on the results obtained from the verbal-guise test and on an investigation of the potential effects of social variables on informants' attitudes. In Chapter 6, I will offer a more in-depth discussion of the findings from each sub-section of the research instrument and compare the current findings with those of previous studies. The last chapter will provide details of the contributions and the implications of the current study, particularly from the methodological and pedagogical perspectives.

Chapter Three

Attitudes and Language Attitudes Studies

In Chapter One, the theoretical framework and general background to the current research were described. This chapter introduces the nature of human attitudes, providing a definition of what they are and illustrating the difference between the meaning of the term 'attitude' and that of related concepts. I will then explore the central role occupied by language attitudes research in sociolinguistics. I will review various language attitude studies with a special focus on those conducted in Hong Kong, bearing in mind that there is a paucity of research into attitudes towards various English accents in this context.

3.1 The nature of attitudes

Attitudes have long been an important subject for research in fields like social psychology and sociolinguistics (Agheyesi and Fishman 1970: 137; Eagly and Chaiken 1993: 1; Garrett *et al.* 2003: 2; McKenzie 2006: 23). In this section, definitions of what constitutes an attitude are provided alongside those of a number of related concepts.

3.1.1 The definition of attitude

While there have been numerous attempts to define what constitutes an attitude, doing so is difficult owing to their latent nature (Baker 1992: 11; McKenzie 2006: 23). In fact, the definition depends heavily on the discipline in which the concept is being employed and the researcher's orientation. Generally, Sarnoff's (1970: 279) definition is considered to be a useful starting point: i.e., an attitude is 'a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects'. This statement provides an overall picture of what constitutes an attitude, and allows further exploration of attitudes as dispositions. It also implies that attitudes are sufficiently stable to be identified and even measured since they reflect a reaction towards social objects. This implication is widely confirmed by others, who contend that an attitude usually

'represent[s] an evaluative response toward an object' (Bohner and Wanke 2002: 5) and can be indirectly observed through examining the responses to the attitude (Eagly and Chaiken 1993: 2). In other words, an attitude is an evaluative response to any object on an affective, cognitive or behavioural basis.

Thus, attitudes may be further defined by the tripartite structure shown in Figure 3.1. The objects of an attitude include various entities: concrete objects like pizza, or abstract ones like freedom of speech. They may be inanimate: e.g. sports cars, or they may be persons or groups, such as politicians (see e.g., Secord and Backman 1964; Edwards 1982: 20; Eagly and Chaiken 1993: 10; Oppenheim 1992: 174-175; Cargile *et al.* 1994: 221; Bohner and Wanke 2002: 5).

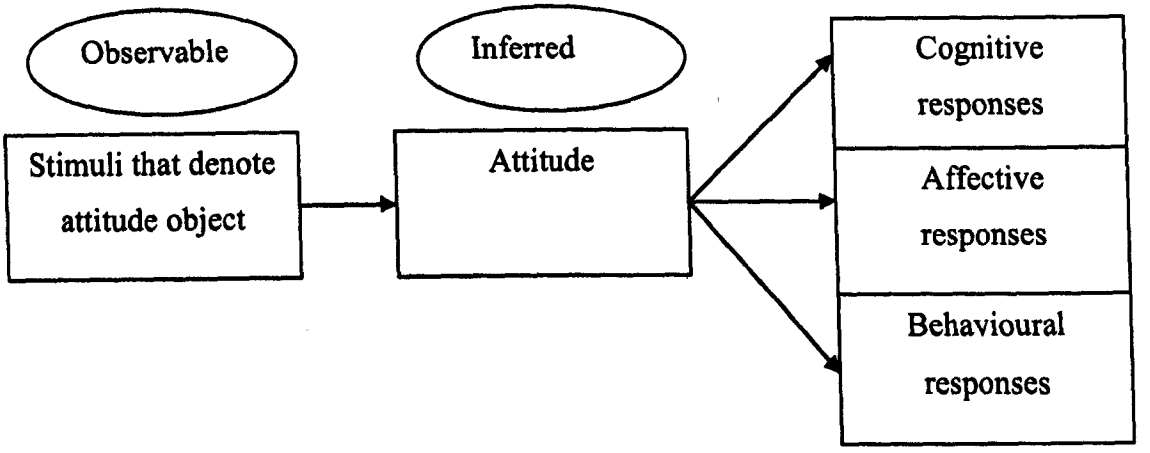

Figure 3.1 Attitude as an inferred state with three evaluative responses (from Eagly and Chaiken 1993: 10)

Attitudes tend to trigger three types of response. Cognitive responses refer to people's thoughts or beliefs about the object of an attitude. An individual's attitudes can be reinforced by his/her thoughts or beliefs. Affective responses comprise feelings or emotions in relation to the object of an attitude. As a result of his or her attitudes, an individual often has strong feelings or emotions.[25] Behavioural responses consist of actions which are carried out with respect to the object of an

[25] Cognitive and affective responses may not be as directly and obviously observable as behavioural responses. However, they are readily observable through various techniques, including the matched-guise test to be discussed in some detail later.

attitude. An individual's attitudes may lead to certain types of behaviour. For example, a Chinese student may strongly believe that learning English will help him/her to get a better job (cognitive); he/she may feel enthusiasm for an English class (affective); and he/she may work hard to learn English (behavioural).

However, these three categories of response can and indeed often do overlap, which leads to difficulty in separating them. As seen from the example of the Chinese student, an individual who believes in something will often have some emotional reaction to this belief and therefore may be assumed to act on it. Note that an attitude may also consist entirely of one category – for example, a cognitive response or an affective one – and not necessarily always represent all three categories (Bohner and Wanke 2002: 5). Eagly and Chaiken (1993: 2) remark that an attitude is a hypothetical construct which is not directly observable but which can be inferred from observable responses (*cf.* also Baker 1992: 10, McKenzie 2006: 23). When certain stimuli from the object of an attitude elicit responses, some mental state (which here refers to the attitude) has been created. Therefore, attitudes are generally defined as 'a summary evaluation of an object of thought', which may encompass only one response category, or a combination of two or of all three categories (Bohner and Wanke 2002: 5). This broad and flexible definition will thus be used for the purposes of this study.

3.1.2 Attitudes and related terms

A problem of overlapping concepts may arise when examining the nature of attitudes. In social psychology, terms such as belief, opinion, value, trait, ideology, motive or habit are interchangeably employed to refer to attitudes for different purposes and the distinctions between the meaning of the term 'attitudes' and the meanings of these related terms may be subtle and indeed may become blurred in daily usage. However, it is important here to clarify further the definition of the term by examining in detail how it differs from those of the related concepts listed above.

A belief is the first concept that may be confused with an attitude and therefore must be differentiated from it. A belief is cognitive in nature, but cognitive responses have been shown to be only one subcomponent (see section 3.1.1). Although beliefs can trigger or be triggered by strong affective reactions, essentially they do not have any

affective content. If we look again at the example of the Chinese student, an affirmative answer to the question, 'Is English important to you or not?' indicates a belief. This may trigger an affective response, for instance, that the student likes English. However, the belief itself does not include this affective content. Thus, further investigation is needed in order to obtain a full picture of this student's attitude towards the language. For instance, a student may feel that English is important for success in a future career (=belief) and yet simultaneously not like the language (=affective responses).

An opinion is another concept which is closely linked to attitudes in common usage. Baker (1992: 14) defines an opinion as an overt belief without an affective reaction, whereas attitudes are latent and contain affective content. In addition, it is only possible to express opinions verbally, but attitudes may be conveyed by both verbal and non-verbal processes. In Garrett *et al.*'s words (2003: 10), an opinion is 'a more discursive entity' which represents a developed view concerning an object. In comparison, attitudes are relatively difficult to formulate and direct or indirect assessment is required in order to study them. For example, a publicly expressed opinion may not necessarily reflect one's true attitude. This issue may also be associated with the relationship between attitudes and behaviour, which will be discussed later (see section 3.1.3).

A value is generally defined as a more abstract concept than an attitude. Values are regarded as essential elements in a person's system of attitudes and beliefs, and can be conceptualised as 'superordinate ideals' which people endeavour to achieve (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 10). In other words, a number of different attitudes may underlie a value. For instance, the value of 'equality' may comprise various underlying attitudes towards equal opportunities legislation, income tax, an inter-ethnic war overseas, a political party, etc.

Personality *traits* are another concept worth mentioning here. Compared with attitudes, traits are more stable since they can be more easily observed from behaviour owing to the fact that they do not involve any evaluative process: that is, they do not focus on/evaluate any particular object (Ajzen 1985: 7). By contrast, attitudes are more likely to change or be modified since they are evaluative of certain objects (see section 3.1.1).

Oppenheim (1992: 177) shows the relationship between *attitudes* and *opinions*, *values* and *personality traits* on a 'tree model' (see Figure 3.2). *Personality* is located at the deepest level as the root of the tree, with *values* just above it. At the second most superficial level are *attitudes*, while *opinions* are at the most superficial level. In fact, the tree model displays the relationships among these four concepts as superficial versus deep, changeable versus stable (Oppenheim 1992: 176), and hence overt versus covert and specific versus general. In other words, an individual's opinions are more open to modification than his/her personality, which tends to remain the same (*ibid.*). An individual could have a value which is related to an object but hold more complex and specific attitudes towards this object.

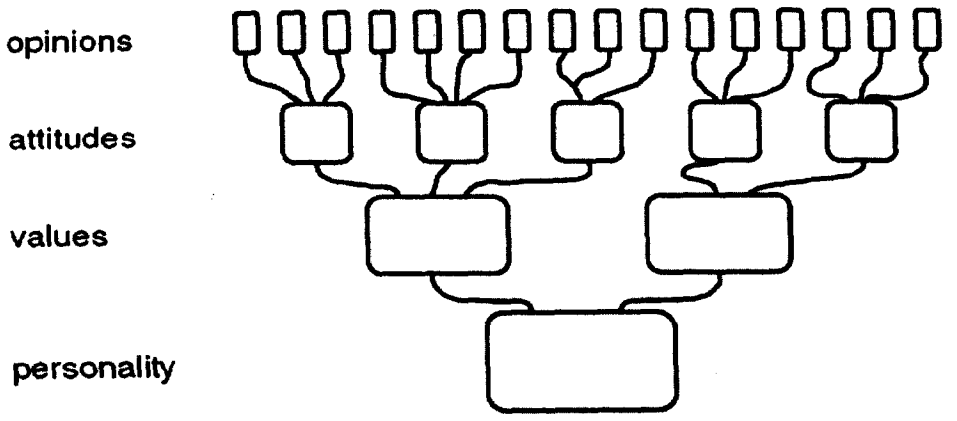

Figure 3.2 Tree Model of Attitude Levels (adapted from Oppenheim 1992: 177, see also McKenzie 2006: 25)

Ideology is also usually differentiated from attitudes. According to the definition of Garrett *et al.* (2003: 11), 'ideology generally refers to a patterned but naturalized set of assumptions and values associated with a particular social or cultural group'. Therefore, in sociology, ideology is likely to indicate globally held or shared attitudes which represent 'codifications of group norms and values' (Baker 1992: 15). Ideology thus usually refers to the broad perspectives in a society – a philosophy of life. By contrast, attitudes tend to be related to specific objects and be held by individuals.

Motives, like attitudes, refer to latent dispositions which are manifested in observable responses (Baker 1992: 14). Whilst motives represent a drive state and are goal-specific, attitudes are object-specific and do not have an existing drive state (although they may produce drives). *Habits* are generally considered to be

behavioural routines, whereas attitudes are only related to *behaviour* (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 7-8, see also section 3.1.3 for further discussion).

So far, attitudes have been examined in relation to seven other concepts in order to obtain a better understanding of the concept. However, one relationship arising from the discussion is particularly important for the present study, namely, the relationship between attitudes and behaviour, which will therefore be give prominence below.

3.1.3 Attitudes and behaviour

As mentioned previously, one potential component of an attitude is a behavioural response. That is, an individual's attitudes are sometimes expressed and can be observed in his/her behaviour. The causal relationship between attitudes and behaviour has led researchers to assume that attitudes can go some way towards explaining the direction and persistence of types of human behaviour (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 222). It is assumed that since an individual's behaviour can reveal his/her attitude towards an object, a change in attitude may lead to a change in this person's behaviour. On the other hand, it is sometimes possible to predict a person's behaviour on the basis of his/her attitude. It thus seems that the observation of human behaviour is a straightforward way of investigating attitudes towards an object.

However, there is much evidence to show that outward human behaviour is not always consistent with expressed attitudes (see e.g., La Piere 1934; Wicker 1969; Hanson 1980). La Piere's study (1934) is a classic example of the poor correlation. Only one out of 251 restaurants and hotels refused to provide service to a young Chinese couple in the US, whereas over 90% of these establishments said they would refuse to serve the couple when asked by letter six months after their visit. Similarly, Hanson (1980) found that a positive relationship between attitudes and behaviour is only likely to appear under strictly controlled conditions. In his review, 16 out of 28 laboratory studies reported a positive attitude-behaviour correspondence, but 16 out of 20 field studies failed to show this correlation.

Indeed, Wicker's (1969) review article revealed that attitudes account for only 10% of the variability in behaviour. Thus, stipulating a positive relationship between attitude and behaviour seems simplistic. The weak link also gives rise to the question

of the reliability of attitudinal data which are derived from an observation of behaviour. It is to this conundrum that I now turn.

Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975: Chapter 10) 'theory of reasoned action' focuses on how attitudes affect behavioural intentions, which in turn are related to actual behaviour (See Figure 3.3). According to this theory, actions, which refer to behaviour here, are likely to be controlled by intentions. Intentions are indications of how hard people are willing to try in order to carry out an action. As a general rule, the stronger the intention an individual has, the more likely it is that he or she will perform the action. Nevertheless, not all intentions are in fact carried out, either because of personal factors (i.e., attitudes) or because of social influence factors (i.e., subjective norms).[26]

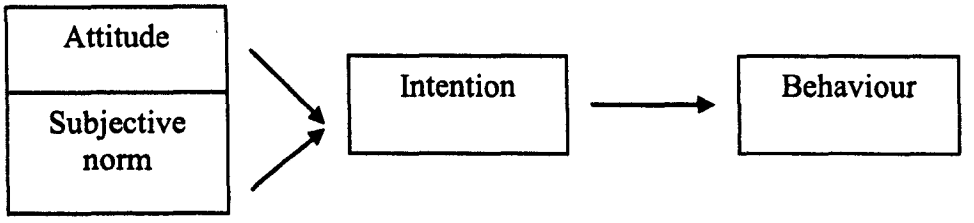

Figure 3.3 The Theory of Reasoned Action (from Fishbein and Ajzen 1975)

In other words, an individual's intention is not only determined by his/her own positive or negative evaluation of behaving in a particular way or of performing a particular action, but also by a perception of the social pressure put on him/her to behave or not behave in that way or to perform or not perform that action. Thus the theory of reasoned action assumes that 'individuals rationally calculate both the costs and the benefits of undertaking a particular action and carefully consider how others will view the particular behaviour' (McKenzie 2006: 29). This theory thus emphasises the importance of 'the social context within which any individual operates, and how this may affect the relative importance of private attitudes' (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 8).

[26] For example, a person may decide to go on a diet as a result of his/her own opinions concerning health or because he/she has been influenced by the social norm of 'the slimmer the better'.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the intention-behaviour relationship is only valid if the behaviour in question is under volitional control: that is, if an individual is able to decide at will whether or not to carry out an action. In the real world, it is possible for people to have limited or no control over this relationship as a result of their lacking requisite resources or opportunities, such as money or time, good weather, co-operation, etc. Consequently, the factor called 'perceived behavioural control' was added to develop the previous theory into a 'theory of planned behaviour' (Ajzen 1985: 11-39, 1991: 179-211, see Figure 3.4).

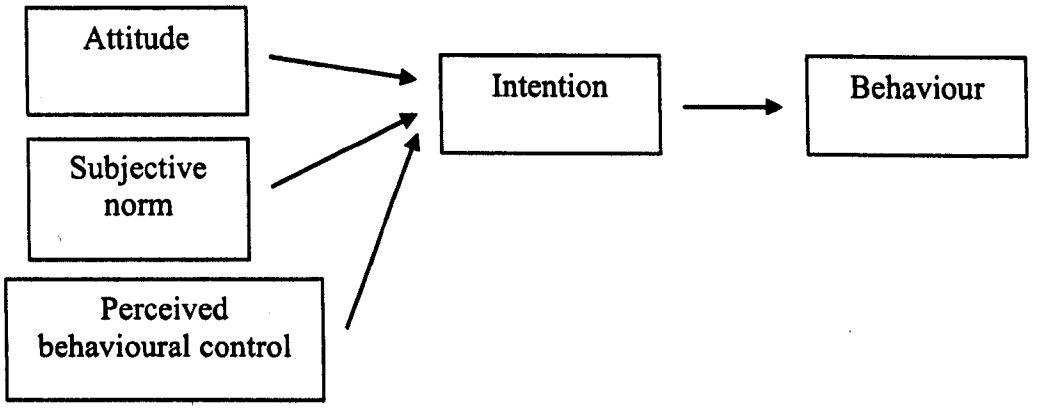

Figure 3.4 The Theory of Planned Behaviour (from Ajzen 1985)

The theory of planned behaviour further demonstrates that the intention to behave in a certain way also depends on an individual's perception of his or her own control over this behaviour. For instance, a person's perception of whether or not he/she can prevent others from smoking in public may lead to his/her strong or weak intention to stop someone smoking (McKenzie 2006: 29). In general, although the view is no longer that there is a simple relationship between attitude and behaviour as demonstrated in either 'the theory of reasoned action' or 'the theory of planned behaviour', both models draw attention to the fact that attitudes are still partly and indirectly expressed in behaviour. The indirect attitude-behaviour correspondence as evidenced in the two models demonstrates the complex nature of attitudes and the difficulty of obtaining reliable attitude measurements, which, however, reinforces the idea that a broad and flexible definition of attitudes (see section 3.1.1) is more appropriate.

The discussion of the attitude-behaviour relationship has revealed the importance of attitudes in the understanding of behaviour. Since attitudes are a summary of

evaluations which form the basis for cognitive, affective and behavioural responses and are inherently difficult to measure reliably, the current study employed a methodology that focused on multiple elicitation tasks (i.e., a semantic-differential scale plus a range of other methodologies). It was hoped that such a combined method might enhance the internal reliability and validity of attitude measurement.

The next section will continue the exploration of attitudes, this time in relation to the study of language.

3.2 Language attitudes

As Baker (1992: 29) points out, a wide range of empirical studies may be categorised under the umbrella term 'language attitude' studies, and these may be further classified according to a simplified taxonomy, depending on their particular focus:

(1) Attitudes to language variation, dialect and speech style
(2) Attitudes to a specific minority language
(3) Attitudes to language groups, communities and minorities
(4) Attitudes to learning a new language
(5) Attitudes to language lessons
(6) Attitudes to language preference
(7) Attitudes to the uses of a specific language
(8) Attitudes of parents to language learning

This study focuses primarily on the first category: attitudes to language variation, dialect and speech style. The aim as noted previously was to measure Hong Kong people's attitudes towards eight different varieties of English from the Inner, Outer or Expanding Circles. However, since it is generally difficult to separate attitudes towards language varieties from attitudes towards the groups or communities which use them, a study of attitudes towards varieties of English amongst a sample of Hong Kong citizens inevitably has implications for the third category listed above, namely, attitudes to the speakers of a variety, and probably also for the fourth, sixth and seventh categories: attitudes towards learning and towards using English. In other words, the current study has broader implications for language policy and pedagogy.

3.2.1 The importance of language attitudes research in sociolinguistics

Language attitudes are not only studied by social psychologists who are particularly interested in language, but are also carried out by sociolinguists who have an interest in the structure of language and its relationship to social constructs and processes (Campbell-Kibler 2006: 57). In fact, attitudes towards language varieties may be a basis for a very wide range of 'socio-linguistic and social psychological phenomena' (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 12). Indeed, the study of language attitudes is thought to be a key dimension in the building of sociolinguistic theory (Garrett *et al.* 1999: 322).[27]

The importance of the study of language attitudes in explaining sociolinguistic phenomena derives principally from the behavioural consequences of changes in language attitudes, despite the complexity of the attitude-behaviour relationship. As discussed previously (see section 3.1.3), attitudes are considered to be an indirect, yet essential, determinant of behaviour. Investigating language attitudes should thus enable us to provide explanations for the underlying motivations for linguistic variation and change (Labov 1984: 33; Garrett *et al.* 2003: 12). Early in 1982, Carranza (1982: 63) reviewed a number of language attitude studies in the Hispanic context and pointed out that 'language attitudes can contribute to sound changes, define speech communities, reflect intergroup communication, and help determine teachers' perceptions of students' abilities'. Indeed, short- and long-term behavioural consequences have the potential to lead to serious experimental outcomes (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 12-13). A study of attitudes towards an accent, for instance, may illuminate why certain groups of speakers have better or worse prospects in the labour market and in education, as well as why some speakers are seen as more trustworthy in medical or legal contexts (Giles and Powesland 1975: 105; Cargile 1997).

In addition, the study of language attitudes can contribute to our understanding of how linguistic variables 'determine[s] and define[s] these attitudes' (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 12), which is particularly important for micro-sociolinguistics. For example,

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[27] Although various aspects of language attitudes have also been examined in the field of second language acquisition, I will focus here on discussing the area of sociolinguistics.

Labov (1966) examined the use of the postvocalic /r/ in New York City and evaluated the sociolinguistic meanings of this variable in this community (see also Labov 1984). Indeed, Labov even defined the notion of speech community based on shared production values and attitudes. A further important reason why the study of language attitudes may be seen to be of importance in sociolinguistics is that language attitudes are considered to be one of the determinants of the spread or decay of dialects or languages (McKenzie 2006: 47). The prevalence of English around the world is a good illustration of this: while its initial spread was obviously owing to colonial expansion, in the postcolonial period positive attitudes towards English have played a dominant role in the expansion of its use worldwide (e.g., McKenzie 2006; Al-Abed and Samid 2007; De Kadt 2007; Munro 2007). Attitudinal studies investigating varieties of the English language not only measure to what extent a variety of English is likely to be adopted and employed in a society, but they also offer suggestions about how the use of a particular variety may be extended and how it may spread (e.g., Vine 2003; Walt and Rooy 2003; Crisma *et al.* 2007; Igboanusi 2008; He and Li 2009).

3.3 Language attitude studies – An overview

The above sections have introduced the nature of language attitudes in general and their importance in sociolinguistics. This section presents a critical review of several seminal language attitude studies which were conducted in the United Kingdom and United States, followed by a brief review of language attitude studies on Chinese-accented English. I will then discuss the major findings obtained from research conducted in the context of Hong Kong. Finally, the research question and hypotheses of the current study are presented. Most of the studies reviewed here employed the matched-guise technique (MGT), which, ever since its introduction into this field in the 1970s, has contributed to the blossoming of language attitude studies. MGT, which is the main research tool employed here, as well as two other approaches to measuring language attitudes, will be reviewed in detail in Chapter 3.

3.3.1 Studies of varieties of English in the UK and USA

Since the current study evaluates attitudes towards standard varieties, or more specifically, towards RP and General American English, the particular focus of this

section will be on the results of perceptual studies that investigated the attitudes of British or American respondents towards these two accents. These studies demonstrate a generally consistent pattern of results regarding perceptions of standard and non-standard varieties of English (e.g., Giles and Powesland 1975: 37; Giles *et al.* 1975: 73; Ryan and Giles 1982: 27; Giles and Coupland 1991: 38; Cargiles *et al.* 1994: 224; see also below). They will thus be used as a point of reference for the discussion of attitudes towards Chinese-accented English and HKE which follows.

The use of the terms 'standard/non-standard' is problematic, in particular with regard to the spoken form of a language variety (e.g., Edwards and Jacobsen 1987; Lippi-Green 1997: 41; Bex and Watts 1999; Gupta 2006: 96). It is therefore unlikely that one would find an internationally accepted standard accent (Gupta 2006: 96). Usually, discussion under 'standard variety of English' focuses on written English varieties rather than accents (Gupta 2001: 370). It indicates 'the one that is most often associated with high socioeconomic status, power and media usage in a particular community' (Giles and Coupland 1991: 38). Generally, the binary term 'standard/non-standard variety' is arbitrary, socially defined (Campbell-Kibler 2006: 64) and ideological in nature (J. Milroy 1999: 16; L. Milroy 1999: 173). For example, as L. Milroy (1999: 203) demonstrated, the term 'Standard English' has a completely different meaning in Britain and the United States. In Britain, Standard English is usually connected with the upper social class and has strong institutional support since 'the language standardisation process is historically associated with the existence of a monarchy' (L. Milroy 1999: 204). In the United States, however, the standard language ideology is associated with racial discrimination rather than with class because of 'the need to accommodate large numbers of non-English speakers' (*ibid.*). Importantly, because the concept of Standard English is an ideology which refers to a set of beliefs about language and is therefore shaped and shared by a community, it is possible for different communities to have a contrasting understanding of what is meant by 'standard/non-standard' (Giles and Coupland 1991: 38; L. Milroy 1999).

Despite the large number of debates about the concept of 'standard English' in academia (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Lippi-Green 1997; Bex and Watts 1999; Kortmann

and Schneider 2004; Trudgill and Hannah 2002), the concept of a standard language is pertinent in daily life and lay users are unlikely to have any problems describing or defining it (Lippi-Green 1997: 41), especially the notion of what constitutes standard spoken English (McKenzie 2006: 69). Since language attitude studies, including the current research, focus on the attitudes of non-academic audiences and individuals rather than on those of linguists, the terms 'standard/non-standard' are inevitably used in previous and current studies (e.g. Ladegaard 1998a, Garrett *et al.* 1999, Bayard *et al.* 2001, Lam 2007, McKenzie 2008, Lim 2009). Since people tend to associate accents they hear with more or less powerful/prestigious social groups (Gupta 2006: 96-97), it is not difficult to determine which are the high prestige and which the low prestige accents in individual communities (Gupta 2001: 370). Therefore, in the current study, I have chosen to conceptualise the English accent that is generally recognised as the high prestige variety of English in a particular English-speaking area as the standard. Although different areas/communities usually perceive different varieties as high prestige, in practical terms, identifying the one or more accents which are generally perceived as prestigious in a particular area does not present a great problem (Gupta 2006: 97). For example, in the community of Hong Kong, Received Pronunciation and General American English[28] can reasonably be taken to be recognised as standard English, or high prestige varieties, as they are most commonly designated by Hong Kong people and are widely employed in the education system there.

Giles (1970) recruited 177 schoolchildren to investigate the perceived status of thirteen accents: RP, Affected RP, North American, French, German, South Welsh, Irish, Italian, Northern English, Somerset, Cockney, Indian and Birmingham. The respondents were asked to rate these accents across the dimensions 'aesthetic', 'communicative' and 'status'. The status results confirmed that RP was indeed ranked highest whereas regional accents such as South Welsh were ranked in the middle; and the accents of industrial towns such as Birmingham were ranked the lowest. Important for this study is Giles' bi-partite division into standard and non-

[28] Further discussion of Received Pronunciation and General American English can be found in Chapter 3, section 3.3.1.

standard varieties of English. The standard varieties, such as RP, Affected RP or North American English, were found to be more favoured than non-standard varieties, such as Irish, South Welsh or Northern England, in terms of status traits, such as 'educated', 'rich', 'competent'. By contrast, the latter seemed to be evaluated more highly on solidarity traits: e.g., 'friendly', 'sincere', 'honest' etc.

Cheyne (1970) examined both Scottish and English respondents' attitudes towards Scottish and English regional accents using the MGT. The results showed that both groups of respondents rated Scottish regional accents lower than English ones in terms of status. However, the respondents also rated Scottish accents as more 'friendly' and some Scottish respondents evaluated them higher with respect to the personality trait 'warmth'. A later study (Milroy and McClenaghan 1977) supported the general pattern of evaluating standard and non-standard varieties, demonstrating that Belfast respondents rated RP higher with regard to personality traits reflecting status. On the other hand, RP was rated lower than Scottish and Ulster accents with regard to solidarity traits.

More recently, Hiraga (2005) asked thirty-two Southern English respondents to evaluate six varieties of English from both Britain and America, which can be generally categorised into three groups: two varieties of standard English, one from the US – Network American[29] and one from the UK – RP; two urban varieties of English, the New York and UK Birmingham accents; and two varieties of English from rural areas, the Alabama and Yorkshire accents. These accents were to be evaluated across the dimensions of both 'status' and 'solidarity'. The results demonstrate that, in terms of status, the Birmingham accent as an urban variety was rated the lowest, whereas RP was ranked the highest and the Network American accent was rated immediately below RP; in terms of solidarity, the Yorkshire accent

[29] The Network American speaker in Hiraga's study is a radio announcer from the Pacific North West city of Seattle who does not exhibit any pronounced regional accent. To some extent, the Network American accent is used as an equivalent of the 'General American' type defined by Wells (1982: 118), a conflation that will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, section 3.3.1. This variety 'seems to be a concrete example of Standard American English' (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 282) which is also sometimes referred to as 'Standard North American' (Bayard *et al.* 2001), 'North American' (Giles 1970), or 'standard American English' (Cargile 1997).

was rated the highest, while the New York City accent was ranked the lowest and the Birmingham accent the second lowest (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 The results of Hiraga's study (2005)

Status result		Solidarity result	
1	RP	1	Yorkshire
2	Network American	2	Network American
3	New York City	3	Alabama
4	Alabama	4	RP
5	Yorkshire	5	Birmingham
6	Birmingham	6	New York City

To some extent, Hiraga's results for status parallel those of Giles (1970), with a general tripartite hierarchy of accent prestige amongst six varieties of English. Overall, RP and the American standard remained first in the hierarchy, followed by regional rural accents, whereas accents from industrial regional areas were usually ranked the lowest. The results also confirm the general pattern relating to the evaluation of standard and non-standard speakers. On the one hand, the standard varieties, RP and Network American, were favoured in terms of status, while British respondents rated the non-standard rural varieties, i.e., the Yorkshire and Alabama accents, highest in terms of solidarity. Although RP was evaluated higher than Network American by the British respondents in terms of status, the Network American accent was rated higher than RP in the solidarity dimension, which shows that 'it is not always the case that British people identify with and show loyalty towards all varieties of British English' (Hiraga 2005: 299).

Within the United States, a number of studies have investigated attitudes towards standard or non-standard American English varieties. According to Preston (1989), the respondents' mental map of regional speech areas shows that the US South is usually rated low for 'correctness', whereas the North is perceived to be more 'correct'. Indeed, even subjects from the South rated their own speech low in terms of 'correctness'. However, the ratings of Southern speech for 'pleasantness' by both southern and northern subjects were relatively high.

The results of Preston's (1999) perceptual tests further confirmed the influence of the 'mental map'. Overall, there appeared to be prejudice against varieties of English from the southern states, including accents from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana,

Arkansas, Tennessee, Georgia and Texas, all of which tended to be rated low in terms of 'correctness' (Preston 1989 and 1999; Lippi-Green 1997: 57). By contrast, the varieties spoken in Midwestern states, namely, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota, have usually been found to be thought of as 'proper' or 'correct' English (e.g., Preston 1989, 1996, 1999; Fought 2002: 132). However, varieties of English spoken in the South are rated higher than those spoken in the North regarding solidarity traits, such as 'casual', 'friendly', 'polite'. On the other hand, Northern varieties of English were ranked higher than Southern types on traits related to status: e.g., 'educated', 'smart', 'normal', etc. Therefore, Preston (1999: 367) concludes that '...northern speakers have made symbolic use of their variety as a vehicle for standardness, education, and widely accepted or mainstream values. On the other hand, southern speakers (who are well aware of northern prejudices against their variety) use their regional speech as a marker of solidarity, identity, and local values'. Although these results were obtained through a more direct approach, namely drawing and rating accents on maps, they still confirm the findings that elsewhere, standard varieties are normally favoured.

Regarding American respondents' perceptions of US speech and UK English (i.e., RP), Steward *et al.* (1985) found that they ranked their own accent higher than RP on the solidarity dimension. However, the status results indicated that American respondents rated this British English accent higher than their own with respect to social status. Since these results are similar to those obtained from other research (e.g., Hiraga 2005), they might be taken as an indication that the prestige of RP extends 'even in a society that possesses economic and political advantages over Britain internationally' (Stewart *et al.* 1985: 103). Although the General American accent has gradually come to be a globally recognised standard variety of English, it seems that English native speakers from the UK and the USA both rate RP higher in terms of social status. This finding seems to be related to the fact that the UK is historically the origin of the English language, as well as the fact that General American English is relatively young in comparison with RP (Kachru 1992; Garrett *et al.* 2005; Jenkins 2009).

However, this picture might be currently undergoing change. Bayard *et al.* (2001) examined perceptions of RP, Standard North American English,[30] Australian English and New Zealand English amongst over 400 students in New Zealand, Australia and the United States. American respondents rated both male and female voices speaking a Standard North American accent higher than other accents across four dimensions: status, power, solidarity and competence.[31] Interestingly, RP was not rated as high as in other studies which have examined status traits (Steward *et al.* 1985; Hiraga 2005; see above). The female RP voice was ranked second lowest in terms of status and lowest in terms of power, and the male RP voice was ranked below both American voices. Importantly, the results indicated that both male and female American voices were rated highly across each dimension by students of all three nationalities. Therefore, Bayard *et al.* (2001: 22) concluded that 'the American accent seems well on the way to equalling or even replacing RP as the prestige – or at least preferred – variety'. The current study will also be able to contribute to this debate since RP and General American are included in the evaluations.

To sum up, the results of previous language attitudes studies demonstrate a relatively uniform pattern, namely that standard varieties tend to be rated more favourably on status traits, both by speakers of these varieties and by speakers of non-standard varieties. However, non-standard varieties tend to be evaluated more positively in the solidarity dimension, especially when the evaluators themselves are speakers of such varieties. Two possible explanations for the relative consistency in evaluative patterns of varieties have been suggested: the 'inherent value' and the 'imposed norm' hypotheses (Giles *et al.* 1974; Trugrill and Giles 1974; Trudgill 1983). The former hypothesis assumes that a dialect or accent is inherently pleasing, that is, it has an intrinsic aesthetic quality. The imposed norm hypothesis, which has also been called the 'social connotations' hypothesis (Trugrill and Giles 1974), on the other hand, suggests that a dialect or accent derives its associations from its speakers and

[30] Which they define as a 'variety of North American English...used by almost all spoken media presenters', thus similar to the 'General American' accent (Bayard *et al.* 2001).

[31] These dimensions were drawn from a factor analysis of 13 personality traits (e.g., 'reliable', 'intelligent', 'controlling', etc.), 5 voice quality traits (e.g., powerful voice, strong voice, pleasant voice, etc.) and 4 status indices (i.e., occupation, income, social class, education level).

thus it evokes stereotyped responses. This means effectively that the prestige of any dialect is intimately tied to the social status of its speakers, which in turn causes people to perceive this dialect as 'good', 'pleasant', 'educated', etc.

These hypotheses are similar to the three broad possible explanations for the patterns which underlie language evaluations: they may reflect intrinsic linguistic inferiorities/superiorities, intrinsic aesthetic differences, or social convention and preference (Edwards 1982: 21, 1999: 102; see also Giles and Coupland 1991: 37, Cargile *et al.* 1994: 227; McKenzie 2006: 73). Edwards (1982: 21, 1999: 102) states his support for the third possibility after assessing the other two in the light of the results of previous studies (see also Cargile *et al.* 1994: 227). He, together with many contemporary linguists, argues that language attitudes reflect the social perceptions of the speakers of a given variety and that listening to these speakers acts as a stimulus or trigger that evokes exactly these attitudes (i.e., prejudices or stereotypes) regarding the relevant speech community (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Cargile *et al.* 1994; Williams *et al.* 1999).

There is some evidence to support the 'inherent value' hypothesis. For example, the study of Brown *et al.* (1975) showed that American subjects who had no formal knowledge of either the French language or French culture could correctly allocate French speakers to different social classes. Trudgill (1983: 213) has argued that these results do not necessarily support the inherent value hypothesis since it is difficult to ensure that the subjects involved in Brown *et al*'s study were completely ignorant of French language and culture. It is possible that they had heard the language or become familiar with some aspects of French culture at a conscious or subconscious level. Furthermore, it is necessary to point out that Brown *et al.* asked the respondents to evaluate the speakers' social class according to their reading and recitation skills rather than on a matched-guise test. It is thus possible that 'there are perceptible differences of voice-quality between the middle- and working-class speakers' and that '...a similar relationship between the same paralinguistic features and social class exists in some varieties of American English' (Trudgill and Giles 1976: 177). Respondents thus might 'transfer aspects of their sociolinguistic appreciation of dialects they know to dialects they do not know and this could generate reliable patterns of evaluation' (Williams *et al.* 1999: 348).

Later empirical studies, however, have amassed a range of evidence that seems to argue against the 'inherent value' hypothesis and suggests the 'imposed norm' hypothesis (e.g., Giles *et al.* 1974a and 1974b; Trugrill and Giles 1974; Giles *et al.* 1975; Edward 1982; Trudgill 1983; Cargile *et al.* 1994). For example, British subjects with no knowledge of French rated all varieties of French at the same level and showed no particular preference for any of them (Giles *et al.* 1974a). Research into Cretan and educated Athenian Greek also indicated that British respondents without any knowledge of Greek demonstrated non-significantly different attitudes towards these two types of Greek, whereas Greek informants perceived the Athenian variety as prestigious (Giles *et al.* 1974b). The large number of studies which have produced similar results seems to suggest that the imposed norm hypothesis is likely to be a valid explanation for the consistency of people's attitudes towards a variety of a language.

3.3.2 Studies of China English[32]

In the section above, I have synthesised and evaluated the results of a series of attitude studies of native English speakers in the United Kingdom and the United States and I have outlined some consistent patterns of evaluation. This section concentrates on studies related to varieties of English spoken with a Chinese accent. Attitude studies conducted in Hong Kong will be discussed separately below (see section 3.3.3).

One of the criticisms which has been made of studies conducted in East Asian countries is that they tend to investigate attitudes towards 'the English language' as if it were a single entity (McKenzie 2006: 74). Examples of such research can be seen in various domains, especially in education. For instance, investigations into attitudes towards standard and non-standard English for the purposes of curriculum design (Tan and Tan 2008); attitudes towards the English language held by university students (Young 2006), and the opinions of parents and administrators regarding English language policy in China (Hu 2008).

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[32] Please note that a definition of this term is presented in Chapter 3, section 3.2.

Only a few studies have employed the matched-guise technique to examine attitudes towards Asian-accented English and even fewer studies have scrutinised East Asian attitudes towards particular English accents, rather than towards the English language as a whole. Below, I will examine three studies that investigate attitudes towards China English.

Cargile (1997: 435) points out that while there is much evidence that standard accents are rated positively in terms of social status but negatively in terms of attractiveness, we know relatively little about how non-native or second language speaker varieties are perceived in this regard. Also, 'relatively few studies have observed how non-standard language[33] affects perceptions of dynamism', that is, how strong and confident a non-standard accented speaker sounds (Cargile 1997: 435). In order to determine how the Chinese accent was rated compared to an ethnic Anglo accent on traits related to attractiveness and dynamism, he compared the attitudes of 97 Anglo- and East Asian Americans towards Mandarin Chinese-accented English[34] with their attitudes towards a standard American English accent.[35] The study revealed that both groups of subjects evaluated the Mandarin Chinese accent as equally attractive, dynamic and high in status as a standard American accent. Cargile (1997) suggested that a principal reason for this result was the specific context of the study: the respondents were told that the audiotape was about a Chinese-accented speaker having a job interview in English. He thus carried out a second study to test the role played by context in influencing attitudes towards Chinese-accented English. Another 38 respondents listened to the same audiotape,[36] but these subjects were 'deceived' into believing that a Chinese-accented professor was reading an excerpt from a student's story about a job interview in the classroom. In other words, this recording was supposedly made by 'an English professor' with a

[33] Although Cargile (1997) did not clarify what 'non-standard language' refers to in his article, according to his discussion, it is likely that it indicates ethnic non-Anglo varieties.
[34] Unfortunately, the definition of 'Chinese-accented English' is not provided in Cargile's research, it is therefore difficult to discuss how it is differentiated from 'China English'.
[35] Since Cargile (1997: 437) stated that '[a] standard American English accent was operationalized here as one without easily identifiable regional or ethnic pronunciations', it is likely that 'standard American English' generally refers to a General American accent.
[36] Unfortunately Cargile did not provide details of these subjects. Therefore it remains unknown whether these respondents were Anglo- or Asian Americans.

Chinese accent in the classroom. Although the audiotape was the same as the one used in the first study, involving a job interview context, the results indicated that 'the professor' in Cargile's second study was rated as less dynamic than 'the interviewee' in the first study. Cargile concluded that Chinese-accented English did not encounter any discrimination in the context of employment, whereas it received a lower evaluation in the context of a college classroom. In other words, contextual differences could account for different evaluations of the varieties of Asian-accented English. Indeed, a wide range of studies have shown that context can be a factor which influences people's attitudes towards a variety of a language (e.g., Carranza and Ryan 1975; Cargile and Giles 1998; Dailey *et al.* 2005; Giles and Coupland 1991: 42; Campbell-Kibler 2006: 75). I will discuss contextual effects in more detail in Chapter 3.

A recent study (He and Li 2009) used three research instruments to investigate the attitudes of Chinese students and teachers towards China English, or more specifically, their perceptions of the English teaching model in mainland China and the desirability of incorporating salient features of China English into the existing teaching model. The methods and results obtained from this study are outlined in some detail below.

Using the MGT, He and Li asked 820 university students and 210 teachers from mainland China to evaluate a typical China English accent and a 'native-like standard English accent'[37], which were recorded from the same individual on a 5-point Likert scale (1=most negative, 5=most positive), with regard to 16 traits. On the whole, the standard English accent was rated more highly than China English on 13 out of 16 traits. China English was given significantly lower ratings on nearly all the positive traits except one: 'patient'. Table 3.2 shows their results in detail.

[37] The article (He and Li 2009) did not clarify how they defined the concept of a 'native-like' accent. Reading the article, I assume that it is an accent near RP or General American, which lay Chinese with no linguistic knowledge usually perceive as 'native'.

Table 3.2 MGT results of He and Li's study (2009: 81)

Traits		Means	
		China English/Standard English	Difference
Positive	1. Friendly	2.94/3.31	-.37**
	2. Intelligent	2.83/3.17	-.34**
	3. Educated	2.88/3.18	-.30**
	5. Competent	2.80/3.39	-.59**
	6. Industrious	2.93/3.08	-.15*
	7. Sincere	2.99/3.15	-.16*
	9. Approachable	2.78/3.16	-.38**
	10. Considerate	2.85/3.00	-.15*
	11. Trustworthy	2.92/3.11	-.19*
	12. Wealthy	2.77/3.06	-.29**
	13. Trendy	2.72/3.20	-.48**
	15. Powerful	2.75/3.34	-.59**
	16. Confident	2.79/3.64	-.85**
	14. Patient	3.13/3.04	.09
Negative	4. Arrogant	3.01/2.61	.40**
	8. Aggressive	3.04/2.66	.38**
* p<.05; **p<.01			

Their matched-guised technique outcomes combined with those obtained from their questionnaire survey and interview seem to indicate that mainland Chinese students and teachers continue to prefer Inner Circle varieties of English and that it will take time for their attitudes to shift to an acceptance of China English.

It is important to note that both these studies compared only two varieties/accents, which means that only a partial picture of Chinese evaluations of English varieties was obtained. Moreover, the 16 traits used in the matched-guise test of He and Li (2009) were not further categorised into status and solidarity traits.[38] It thus remains unknown whether the evaluations of China English by the Chinese respondents might have been more positive in terms of solidarity.

[38] It is also difficult for other researchers to deduce the results from the table above since it is not clear which traits the subjects classified as status and which as solidarity.

The current study explores Mandarin-accented English, a term more or less parallel to China English, in much more depth, in an attempt to develop the results of He and Li's (2009) study further. We shall now move on to an examination of studies of Hong Kong people's attitudes towards languages or varieties of English.

3.3.3 Language attitude studies in Hong Kong

In this section, I discuss language attitude studies conducted amongst Hong Kong Chinese informants focusing on two aspects: (i) the attitudes of Hong Kong people towards English, Cantonese and Mandarin, which feature in most of the past research which is available, as well as (ii) the very limited number of studies that focus on attitudes towards various English accents, especially the Hong Kong accent. These language attitude studies supplement the socio-historical overview of Hong Kong with a focus on the perceptual ideological aspect of the Hong Kong linguistic landscape. An examination of the results obtained from attitudinal studies in Hong Kong in chronological order illustrates the change in attitudes over time.

3.3.3.1 Attitude studies on English, Cantonese and Mandarin[39]

As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.2.1, between the 1970s and 1980s when Hong Kong was still a British colony and English was the only official language, the local Chinese dialect, Cantonese, had started to gain in status because of its widespread use in non-official domains. As a result, perceptual research conducted during this period tended to concentrate on the contrasting attitudes towards Cantonese (or the Chinese language in general) and the English language, mainly with the aim of determining whether a language shift was taking place.

Generally, research into Hong Kong peoples' attitudes towards English, Cantonese and Mandarin[40] tends to employ direct approaches such as questionnaires. This

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[39] Please note that both Cantonese and Mandarin are often referred to as the Chinese language in some studies, such as those of Pierson *et al.* (1980) and Pennington and Yue (1994).

[40] It is important to remember that English remains an official language in Hong Kong and is the language of the former coloniser; Cantonese is the widely used local vernacular and one of the official languages; Mandarin is the new official language introduced after 1997 and is still more widely used

approach is exemplified by Fu (1975), who interviewed 561 students from five secondary schools: two were Chinese-medium schools, two were English-medium schools and one was a private church-run school. All subjects were asked to complete the same questionnaire in order to investigate their attitudes towards the English language. According to the data, 83% of the subjects saw English as a communication tool essential for career development. 87% wanted their (future) children to be proficient in English and 63% said they would prefer their (future) spouses to be competent in English. These results clearly indicate an awareness of the importance of English in Hong Kong as early as the 1970s. Nonetheless, a large number of subjects reported uneasy feelings about using English with Chinese speakers. 66% said that they felt uneasy when a Chinese person used English with them outside the classroom. 61% reported that it was uncomfortable to listen to a Chinese teacher speaking in English when giving a history lesson. A further 31% even felt 'hostile' when they heard Chinese speakers using English in ordinary conversations with one another. In addition, when the respondents were asked to give their opinions about 'English-speaking Westerners', most of the answers were negatively connotated, using words such as 'cold', 'conceited', 'rude', 'self-centred', 'unfriendly' etc.

A study conducted by Pierson *et al.* in 1980 further developed Fu's (1975) questionnaire to measure the attitudes of 466 students from English-medium or Chinese-medium secondary schools towards the English and Chinese languages. Their questionnaire employed two sets of questions which I will outline in more detail later and which were used repeatedly in later studies. One set of questions consisted of 23 statements such as 'When using English, I do not feel that I am Chinese any more' or 'The command of English is very helpful in understanding foreigners and their cultures', which were to be rated using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from '1=absolutely agree' to '5=absolutely disagree' (Pierson *et al.* 1980). All respondents were also asked to rate 'Chinese people' and 'Westerners' according to twenty stereotypes, such as 'self-confident', 'successful', 'hard-working',

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in mainland China than in Hong Kong (see also discussion in Chapter One, section 1.2.3).

'trustworthy', 'gentle and graceful', 'loyal to one's family' etc., on the same 5-point Likert scale.

In Pierson *et al.*'s study, the mean scores for the statements 'If I use English, it means that I am not patriotic' and 'At times I fear that by using English I will become like a foreigner' were 1.3 and 1.4 respectively, which indicated strong agreement with these statements. In other words, Hong Kong students showed a strong in-group loyalty to the Chinese language, which went hand in hand with patriotic feelings. This result is an expression of the fact that the Hong Kong people have been fighting for a long time for the acknowledgement of Chinese, more specifically Cantonese, in Hong Kong.[41] The results obtained by Pierson *et al.* can thus be seen as evidence of the Hong Kong people's strong loyalty to their own language rather than to English, the language of the colonial government. The ratings of the twenty stereotypes revealed that Chinese people were rated more highly than Westerners on certain qualities which are valued in Chinese culture, such as trustworthiness, loyalty, sincerity, gentleness and gracefulness. This finding suggests that Hong Kong Chinese value their own culture more positively than that of the out-group (Pierson *et al.* 1980). Since these traits generally represent the dimensions of social attractiveness or solidarity, the Chinese language would be expected to receive a more positive evaluation in these dimensions.

Importantly, however, this study also demonstrated an attitudinal shift from the results obtained by Fu (1975). The respondents strongly agreed with the statement 'I wish that I could speak fluent and accurate English' (mean=1.4) and disagreed with such statements as 'I feel uneasy and lack confidence when speaking English' (mean=3.6). These results reflected the Hong Kong students' awareness of the need to study English and also their confidence in using English in Hong Kong. Also, Westerners were given higher ratings on attributes such as 'appearance', 'affability' and 'clear thinking', which are characteristics associated with the successful business

[41] English had for decades been the only official language of the colonial government in Hong Kong, but after a riot in 1967 Cantonese was acknowledged, and it has been the co-official language since 1974. For more details see Chapter 1, section 1.2.

person. Hence, English speakers (i.e., Westerners) were connected with traits relating to social status and so it was to be expected that the English language would be perceived in the same way. In other words, the image of Westerners was relatively positive especially in terms of status even if there was a tension between the desire to learn English and the desire to maintain the Chinese identity.

Instead of a questionnaire used in Fu (1975) and Pierson *et al.* (1980), Lyczak *et al.* (1976) employed the matched-guise technique to measure Hong Kong people's attitudes towards the English language and towards colloquial Cantonese. The sample consisted of 210 university students whose first language was Cantonese. These subjects were asked to listen to ten 1½-minute tape-recorded passages in Cantonese and English. They then evaluated these voices on thirteen traits using a 6-point Likert scale. The data demonstrated that the Cantonese Chinese guises were rated significantly higher with regard to the traits of 'kindness', 'trustworthiness', 'honesty', 'considerateness', 'earnestness', 'humility' and 'friendliness', again solidarity traits. The traits that English received higher ratings on were 'intelligent', 'well-off' and 'competent', which belong to the dimension of social status or competence. Lyczak *et al.* (1976: 431) conducted a factor analysis to determine which dimensions were employed by subjects when evaluating speakers. The results showed two factors emerging from the analysis (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 A summary of the results of the factor analysis and evaluations in the study of Lyczak *et al.* (1976:431)

Factor	Traits	Significant high/low evaluation	
		Cantonese/Chinese	English
Factor One (F1): Solidarity	Friendly	high	low
	Trustworthy	high	low
	Honest	high	low
	Kind	high	low
	Humble	high	low
	Considerate	high	low
Factor Two (F2): Status	Intelligent	low	high
	Competent	low	high
	Well-off	low	high
	Good looking	low	high
	Industrious	*	*
	Status of Occupation	*	*
	Serious of Purpose	high	low
Note:	* There is no significant difference in the evaluation of this trait.		

The first factor (F1) consisted of 'character' traits related to solidarity: friendly, trustworthy, honest, kind, humble, considerate, on which Cantonese was rated highly. The second factor (F2) comprised traits related to 'success' or 'competence': intelligent, competent, industrious, status of occupation, serious of purpose, good looking,[42] well-off. English received high evaluations on four out of seven of these traits.

From the results of Fu (1975), Pierson *et al.* (1980) and Lyczak *et al.* (1976), it appears that in the late 1970s and early 1980s the Hong Kong people had conflicting attitudes towards the English language: English, as the dominant language in Hong Kong, was perceived positively with regard to social status, whereas Cantonese was rated highly in the dimension of solidarity. Although people recognised the pragmatic benefits that proficiency in English brings, they felt uneasy about using the language with Chinese people. To a certain degree, these findings demonstrate that in these early days the Hong Kong people paid homage to the high social status of the English language while still feeling a comparatively strong connection with their own language, especially in the domestic domain. The use of English in intimate situations was frowned upon, since English was considered to be a threat to cultural identity. These three important studies from the late 1970s thus confirmed independently the diglossia that existed in Hong Kong in the late colonial era (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.2).

The fact that Cantonese was looked upon favourably seems to imply a strong in-group loyalty to and a perceived need to sustain a general Chinese cultural identity, rather than the informants' awareness of their own local identity as 'Hong Kong people'. Indeed, as Bolton (2003: 221) pointed out, the significance of Pierson *et al.*'s (1980) research lies in its demonstration of the fact that the local people who inhabited Hong Kong in the 1980s had no awareness of a separate Hong Kong identity; indeed the term 'Hong Kong people' was not yet being used at that time.

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[42] Unfortunately, the author did not explain why 'good looking' was grouped with traits which are usually perceived to be related to status. This shows why it is necessary to conduct a pilot study on the selection of traits for the target community, which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 3.

The general perception was of 'Chinese' and 'Western' as being two antagonistic groups of people (Bolton: *ibid.*).

Fourteen years ago, Pennington and Yue (1994) have replicated the study of Pierson *et al.* (1980). 285 students were asked to complete a questionnaire which contained the same items as the previous questionnaire used. All responses to these items were given in Chinese on a 4-point rather than a 5-point Likert scale in order to avoid neutral responses. Importantly, Pennington and Yue's replication study allows comparisons with the findings of the earlier one by Pierson *et al.* (1980) which were collected during the time of the dramatic change in socio-political circumstances leading up to the handover.

The 1994 study elicited strong disagreement with the statement 'If I use English, it means that I am not patriotic' (mean=3.69, 1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree). In addition, the respondents strongly agreed with the statement 'I do not feel awkward when using English' (mean=1.82). Hence, in contrast to the findings of Fu (1975), the more recent outcomes demonstrate that by 1994 Hong Kong people no longer felt uneasy about using English, nor did they see it as a threat to their Chinese identity (Pennington and Yue 1994).

Although the subjects of this study did not agree with the statement 'English is the mark of an educated person' (mean=2.68) or 'If I use English, my status is raised' (mean=2.78), the disagreement levels were considerably lower compared to the original 1980s study (Pierson *et al.*'s mean scores in 1980 were 3.9 and 3.8 respectively). The difference in ratings suggests that Hong Kong students were less adamant in their disagreement about the social value of the English language, which indicates that they did not see a strong symbolic social value attached to English.

Hyland (1997) confirmed this attitude change amongst Hong Kong subjects, employing an adapted version of the questionnaire used by Pierson *et al.* (1980).[43]

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[43] The questionnaire Hyland (1997: 195) used derives from that of Pierson *et al.* (1980): 'Changes were made to about one third of the items used by Pennington and Yue (1994) and Pierson *et al.* (1980) both to eliminate odd-sounding or difficult expressions resulting from translation from Chinese into

His study is of special importance since it was conducted six months before the change of sovereignty in Hong Kong and thus sheds some light on the potential changes in linguistic identity brought about by the handover. 926 university students were asked to respond to 25 statements in a questionnaire. The statements were rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from '1=complete agreement' to '4=complete disagreement'. Hyland's study showed that respondents strongly disagreed with such statements as 'If I use English it means I am not patriotic' (mean=3.71), 'When using English, I do not feel I am a Chinese person anymore' (mean=3.46), 'At times I fear that by using English I will become like a foreigner' (mean=3.34), 'It should not be necessary to study subjects in English at university' (mean=3.27). Hence, the diachronic change in Hong Kong people's attitudes from agreeing with these statements (Fu 1975; Pierson *et al.* 1980) to more and more strongly disagreeing with them (Pennington and Yue 1994; Hyland 1997) is evident. Comparison of these studies also seems to indicate that by the time of the handover, Hong Kong people did not feel that the English language posed any threat to their ethno-linguistic identity.

In addition, Hyland's data show strong agreement with the statement 'I wish that I could speak fluent and accurate English' (mean=1.40; mean=1.34 in Pennington and Yue 1994) and much less certain disagreement with the statement 'Good English is the mark of an educated person' (mean=2.20; mean=2.68 in Pennington and Yue 1994).[44] These results reflect the awareness of the instrumental importance rather than the prestige of English amongst Hong Kong students and confirm the tendency by 1997 for English still to be connected with prestige, yet not as closely as before.

In general, studies carried out in the early to mid-1990s reveal a growing consciousness of a local identity through the change in people's attitudes towards English and Cantonese. This change in perception seems to have begun in the 1980s and continued to develop as the year of the handover drew closer. Indeed, the Sino-

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English and to include issues relating to Cantonese and Putonghua.'

[44] It should be noted that the question was worded, 'English is the mark of an educated person' in the study of Pennington and Yue (1994), and hence was slightly different from the one in Hyland (1997).

British Joint Declaration of 1984 meant that there was less need for Hong Kong people to assert their Chinese identity. However, the long colonial history and tradition of English usage certainly also made a distinct contribution to the development of an emergent and later specific Hong Kong identity (see also Chapter 2, section 2.2).

Indeed, studies conducted after 1997 invariably both reflect this change in attitude and foreshadow a possible language shift in the post-colonial territory after Mandarin was introduced into Hong Kong. However, less than thirteen years has elapsed since the transition, and, during that time, very little research has been published on language attitudes in Hong Kong. Below, I briefly summarise the few studies that have dealt with linguistic attitudes in Hong Kong since the handover. In a study similar to that of Pierson *et al.* (1980), Lai (2005) explored people's attitudes towards the languages of English, Cantonese and Putonghua through questionnaires.[45] 1048 secondary students from 28 mainstream secondary schools in Hong Kong were asked to complete a questionnaire which consisted of a list of statements, using a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree.

Factor analysis was conducted to reduce the amount of data in order to 'facilitate a focused discussion' and all statements were grouped under two factors (Lai 2005: 369): integrative orientation[46] and instrumental orientation[47]. As shown in Table 3.4, the first post-colonial generation showed a positive attitude towards Cantonese from the integrative perspective, since the results demonstrate a preference for Cantonese. Respondents strongly agreed that Cantonese is representative of the Hong Kong people (mean=3.18 for Statement 2.1 and mean=3.45 for Statement 2.5). The

[45] If the author of the research I refer to used 'Putonghua' rather than 'Mandarin' in his/her article, I usually follow him/her and use 'Putonghua' here.

[46] The integrative orientation includes statements showing how strongly integratively oriented the respondents were towards Cantonese/English/Putonghua, such as 'As a Hongkonger, I should be able to speak fluent Cantonese', 'As a Chinese [person], I should be able to speak fluent Putonghua', 'I like English', etc (Lai 2005: 369).

[47] The instrumental orientation comprises statements showing how strongly instrumentally oriented the respondents were toward Cantonese/English/Putonghua. For example, 'I wish to master a high proficiency of Cantonese', 'English will help me much in getting better opportunities for further studies', 'Putonghua will help me much in getting better career development in the 21st century', etc (Lai 2005: 369).

respondents also clearly stated that they liked Cantonese since it is their mother tongue and they would prefer it not to be replaced by Putonghua.

Table 3.4 Integrative orientation toward Cantonese in Lai's study (2005: 369)

No.	Statements	Mean	SD
2.1	As a Hongkonger, I should be able to speak fluent Cantonese.	3.18	.71
2.2	I like Cantonese because it is my mother tongue.	3.31	.72
2.5	Cantonese is the language which best represents Hong Kong.	3.45	.64
2.13	Cantonese should be replaced by Putonghua since it is only a dialect with little value.	1.57	.69
3.1b	I like Cantonese.	3.63	.53
3.6b	I like Cantonese speakers	3.43	.40

However, Table 3.5 shows that English was perceived positively from the instrumental or status point of view.

Table 3.5 Instrumental orientation towards English in Lai's study (2005: 369)

No.	Statements	Mean	SD
2.12	English is less important in Hong Kong after the change of sovereignty.	1.99	.84
2.14	The use of English is one of the crucial factors which has contributed to the success of Hong Kong's prosperity and development today.	3.03	.74
2.15	To increase the competitiveness of Hong Kong, the English standard of Hong Kong people must be enhanced.	3.35	.71
3.2a	English will help me much in getting better opportunities for further studies.	3.88	.40
3.3a	English will help me much in getting better career opportunities in the 21st Century.	3.88	.39
3.4a	English is highly regarded in Hong Kong society.	3.58	.40
3.5a	I wish to master a high proficiency of English.	3.58	.64

Respondents strongly agreed that English was important in Hong Kong society (mean=1.99 for Statement 2.12[48]), especially for further study or a future career (mean=3.88 for Statement 3.2a, mean=3.88 for Statement 3.3a). Moreover, English was considered to be an essential factor in achieving social prosperity (mean=3.03

[48] Please note that Statement 2.12 is negatively worded. The mean score of 1.99 indicates that respondents disagreed with this negatively-worded statement.

for Statement 2.14, mean=3.35 for Statement 2.15). These results imply that the status of English was thus unlikely to decline after the handover.

Although informants acknowledged that Putonghua – a new official language introduced into Hong Kong after 1997 – has instrumental value, it was not perceived as being as important as Cantonese (see Table 3.6). Furthermore, Putonghua received relatively low ratings on integrative orientation, which suggests that it was not widely used in family settings or perceived as an in-group variety in Hong Kong. As Table 3.6 shows, the order of preferred languages in the integrative orientation is Cantonese – English – Putonghua. With respect to the instrumental orientation, it is English – Cantonese – Putonghua.

Table 3.6 Means of the six factors in Lai's study (2005: 370)

Factors		Mean	SD
1	Integrative orientation toward Cantonese (CanInte)	3.43	.40
2	Integrative orientation toward English (EngInte)	3.05	.45
3	Integrative orientation toward Putonghua (PthInte)	2.47	.55
4	Instrumental orientation towards Cantonese (CanInst)	3.19	.48
5	Instrumental orientation toward English (EngInte)	3.51	.34
6	Instrumental orientation toward Putonghua (PthInte)	2.66	.58

Hence, these informants saw English as far less of a threat to their ethno-linguistic identity since they rated it more positively (mean=3.05) than Putonghua (mean=2.47) on the integrative orientation scale. Lai (2005: 371) also notes that while only 14% of his respondents called themselves Chinese, the majority identified themselves as Hongkongers (65%) and a relatively small number of them claimed the double identity of Hongkong-Chinese (21%). These results confirm the awareness and development of a distinctive local identity amongst the first post-colonial generation in Hong Kong. Cantonese, as the indigenous heritage language, is without question representative of the Hong Kong Chinese inhabitants. However, Lai's study (2005) reveals that English can also serve as a marker of the Hong Kong identity, which is particularly obvious in the positive responses to the statement 'As a Hongkonger, I should be able to speak English' (mean=3.18, see Table 3.4). Although further study is necessary to clarify whether the 'English' referred to was a standard variety from the Inner Circle or a local variety, the results presented here suggest that there is space for a variety of English to serve the linguistic identity of Hong Kong (Joseph 1996; see also the discussion in Chapter 2, section 2.2.2.3).

Instead of employing the questionnaire used by Pierson *et al.* (1980), Lai (2007) conducted a matched-guise test on 1048 Hong Kong secondary school students to investigate their attitudes towards the languages of Cantonese, Mandarin and English.

The results collected during a period of significant socio-political and economic change indicate that in terms of status the English guise was again rated most positively amongst the three official languages, a result that confirms previous findings that English is highly rated on traits related to power or status (e.g., Lyczak *et al.* 1976; Pierson *et al.* 1980). Moreover, the Cantonese guise was rated most positively in terms of solidarity. The Mandarin guise, which was rarely included in previous studies, was ranked lowest in both the status and solidarity dimensions, a finding that suggests 'the faintest association of the language with both in-group solidarity and aspiration of power' (Lai 2007: 234).

Although Lai's research focused on attitudes towards three languages rather than towards different varieties of a single language, these results do offer vital insights for the current study. Firstly, the two studies conducted after 1997 suggest that English is still perceived as the language of power (Lai 2007: 238). However, it remains to be investigated whether it is the English language generally that triggers such associations with status or whether it is certain varieties of English that carry such connotations. Secondly, Mandarin is perceived neither as a language of power nor as a language that might take over from Cantonese to serve the function of family and intimacy. Despite the rapid growth of Mandarin usage in Hong Kong after 1997, it is still not comparable to English or Cantonese in terms of status or solidarity. It is important to bear in mind the possibility that the negative attitudes of Hong Kong subjects towards Mandarin might lead to relatively low ratings of the Mandarin-accented English guise used in my study, especially in comparison with HKE, which in itself is strongly influenced by Cantonese. However, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, the results of the current study indicate the opposite, especially in terms of status traits. Thirdly, Cantonese is no longer a language associated with low status; it is instead a language with a high solidarity value in Hong Kong.

I will now move on to review studies which examine attitudes to different English accents in Hong Kong, in particular those that test attitudes towards the Hong Kong accent.

3.3.3.2 Attitude studies on English accents in Hong Kong

Bolton and Kwok's study (1990) has already been discussed from the perspective of Hong Kong English phonology (see Chapter 2, section 2.4). Here, I shall examine the data obtained by Bolton and Kwok using a verbal-guise technique to investigate Hong Kong people's attitudes towards two RP accents, two American accents and two Hong Kong accents.[49] Importantly, Bolton and Kwok's study was the first to classify HKE into two further accents: the mild Hong Kong accent and the broad Hong Kong accent,[50] which in turn laid the foundation for the later study on these two varieties of HKE (see discussion in Chapter 2, section 2.3). 131 first-year university students were asked to listen to recordings representing the following six accents: RP, a near-RP accent, a mild American accent, a broad American accent, a mild Hong Kong accent and a broad Hong Kong accent. Each accent was represented by two speakers. The respondents were told that the speakers were applying for the post of radio announcer. The majority of respondents chose the RP-accented speakers as the most suitable for the post. The speakers with the Hong Kong accent were least preferred. In addition, when respondents were asked about their perceptions of the concepts 'British native-speaker', 'North American native-speaker' and 'Hong Kong bilingual'[51], the majority (65.1%) chose 'British native-speaker' as the model person they would prefer to sound like, while 25.6% stated a preference for 'Hong Kong bilingual'; 'North American native-speaker' was the least preferred speaker (6.2%). Some of the results obtained by this study were consistent with those of previous studies: 'RP (...) consistently scored higher in terms of a

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[49] Please note that the account of the attitude study conducted by Bolton and Kwok (1990) is extremely short on detail.

[50] As discussed in Chapter 1, section 1.3, these are similar to the terms HKed and HKbr used in the current study.

[51] Unfortunately, the article did not explain how 'Hong Kong bilingual' was defined or whether the informants were given a further explanation with regard to this category. I can only assume that it refers to a Hong Kong bilingual who speaks English with an educated Hong Kong accent. These results are based on answers to the question '[w]hen you speak English, who would you most like to sound like?' (which is followed by the options 'British native-speaker', 'North American native-speaker', 'Hong Kong bilinguals', 'Others'). The authors did not indicate whether this question was answered while listening to stimuli or merely based on respondents' perceptions. Since the options provided for the question are different from those for other questions that were clearly based on stimuli (and which have the options 'RP1, RP2, US1, US2, HK1, HK2'), I assume that this question was used to investigate respondents' perceptual preferences.

range of dimensions (including self-confidence, intelligence, competence, etc.) over non-prestige accents' (Bolton and Kwok 1990: 168). Bolton and Kwok's (1990) study was the first to include an American accent to be compared against RP and Hong Kong accents, and their results showed that RP was perceived more positively than the American accent. In Chapter 6, these results are discussed in more detail in comparison with the findings of the current study.

In general, in Bolton and Kwok's (1990) study the mild Hong Kong accent was rated comparatively higher than the broad Hong Kong accent. When being evaluated for its suitability in radio announcements, the mild Hong Kong accent was even favoured over the American accents. The relatively positive attitude towards the mild Hong Kong accent has since been confirmed by S. Poon (2007) and the current study also corroborates these findings.

Bolton and Kwok reported another interesting finding. Almost half of the male respondents (43.3%) said they would rather sound like 'Hong Kong bilinguals' than 'British native speakers'. This finding is encouraging in that it displays 'an overtly positive attitude' towards the Hong Kong accent (Bolton and Kwok 1990: 169). Furthermore, Bolton and Kwok found that the majority of their respondents were able to identify a Hong Kong accent (78.7% recognised the broad Hong Kong accent and 52.7% the mild Hong Kong accent), which means that by the time they conducted their research, an awareness of a distinct local accent must have existed.[52]

In terms of accent identification, Luk (1998) investigated 66 secondary school students' awareness of the existence of the Hong Kong accent. All respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire after listening to tape-recorded story extracts spoken in a Hong Kong accent[53] and in RP. It should be noted that this study was not a typical verbal-guise test since the subjects evaluated two speakers on a series of statements rather than according to a list of personality traits. The data revealed that

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[52] The recognition rates for RP and an American accent were comparatively good: around 50% of all respondents identified RP speakers and about 35% recognised American-accented speakers.

[53] Unfortunately, the author did not specify whether the Hong Kong accent played to informants was a broad or mild one.

the vast majority of respondents (98.4%) were able to identify the speaker of the Hong Kong accent as a Hong Kong Chinese[54] and around 80% of them agreed that they spoke English with this accent. These results confirm the finding of Bolton and Kwok (1990) and indicate an awareness of a distinct Hong Kong accent.

However, Luk's study showed that, in terms of preference, the majority of respondents preferred the RP accent (90.2% of all respondents agreed that they liked RP and 31% liked the Hong Kong accent). Luk (1998) interpreted these results as offering very little support for Bolton and Kwok (1990), since the earlier study had revealed a more tolerant attitude towards a mild Hong Kong accent. However, since Luk (1998) does not indicate whether the Hong Kong accent tested was a mild or a broad accent, it is difficult to tell which aspect of the guise triggered such low evaluations. It may be too early and indeed arbitrary to discard the idea that Hong Kong people may prefer one variety of HKE and in turn that this variety would survive and thrive in Hong Kong.

Luk (1998) also argued that there was a lack of institutionalisation of the local variety of English, pointing out that English is not used for intra-territorial communication. In other words, HKE would be unlikely to perform an important role in a wide range of functional domains. Nevertheless, in 2002, Bolton demonstrated the distinctiveness of HKE in terms of phonology, grammar, lexicon and even literary creativity,[55] as well as reference works. Furthermore, considering what happened in the case of Philippine English (as discussed in Chapter 1), even though English does not serve as an inter-ethnic lingua franca, this has not halted the development of Philippine English into a new variety of English.

Furthermore, Luk's study revealed that Hong Kong people tend to have a more tolerant attitude towards their native accent. The number of respondents who did not mind speaking English with a Hong Kong accent had increased slightly from 25.6%

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[54] Around 70% of respondents were able to identify the RP speaker correctly.
[55] Five authors refer to works of poetry or fiction written in Hong Kong English, such as 'A Leaf of Passage' by Lam (2002) and 'The Unwalled City' by Xu Xi (2001).

in Bolton and Kwok (1990) to 31% in Luk (1998). Hence, it is likely that attitudes towards HKE are in the process of changing.

Two unpublished works compared Hong Kong accents with others: i.e., RP and American English (Candler 2001; S. Poon 2007). Although the main focus of these two studies is on the Hong Kong subjects' identification of various accents, they also draw on Hong Kong people's attitudes towards HKE. Candler's (2001) research is based on a sample of 289 Hong Kong secondary school students who were asked to identify the provenance of 12 speakers. There were six accents in total: RP, North American, Australian, Hong Kong, Singaporean, Indian and Filipino, with every accent represented by two speakers. In line with the findings of previous research (Bolton and Kwok 1990; Luk 1998), the Hong Kong accent was again the most easily recognised accent (with a recognition rate of 92.7%), which supports an awareness of the distinctiveness of HKE. The results obtained for the question "When I speak English, I would like to speak with" followed by a list of options (a British, American, Australian, Hong Kong, Indian, Singaporean or Filipino accent, see Candler 2001:54) support the finding of Bolton and Kwok (1990), i.e., the British accent was still the most preferred (50%), followed by the Hong Kong accent (22.5%) and the American (22%). Hence, even though there was only a 0.5% difference between the respondents' preferences for the Hong Kong and American accents, the perception of HKE might be not as dispreferred as previously thought.

However, the most recent study, that of S. Poon (2007), paints a different picture. The attitudes of 60 secondary school students were evaluated after they listened to four accents: RP, General American, and HKed and HKbr. Again, two speakers represented each accent. The results of S. Poon's MGT are generally consistent with previous findings (Bolton and Kwok 1990): RP is still rated most highly, followed by General American, whereas HKbr is rated most negatively. The finding that conflicts with previous perceptual results (Bolton and Kwok 1990, Candler 2001) is that according to the subjects' perceptions General American was favoured over HKE.[56]

[56] These results were based on respondents' perceptions concerning three statements: "Being a Hong

Importantly, however, in S. Poon's study HKed is always rated just below RP and General American, higher than HKbr, a result that confirms Bolton and Kwok's (1990) finding that a mild Hong Kong accent was rated relatively positively. S. Poon (2007:53) further points out that the relatively positive attitude towards HKed might have resulted from these guises being misidentified as a native RP or American accent. Unfortunately, since S. Poon did not conduct statistical tests to investigate the possible effect of (mis)identification on the attitudes towards the accent, we cannot be sure about the significance of the interaction between these two variables.

S. Poon's results based on stimuli demonstrate that RP and the General American accent continue to be preferred by the majority of respondents (more than 80% preferred RP and more than 50% preferred General American).[57] Again, it is important to note the split across the Hong Kong varieties: HKed is favoured by slightly less than half of the respondents (42.17%), whereas HKbr is the least preferred (3.33%).

The above critical review of existing attitude studies, especially those conducted in Hong Kong, demonstrates the potential theoretical and methodological value of further research into the attitudes of Hong Kong people towards varieties of English, with a particular focus on HKE. Only a limited number of publications focus specifically on attitudinal evaluations of varieties of English in Hong Kong. It will therefore be instructive to conduct a study that can provide up-to-date information regarding Hong Kong people's attitudes towards HKE.

Kong Chinese, I want to speak English with a Hong Kong accent", "I want to speak English with an American accent", "I want to speak English with a British accent". All respondents had to state their perceptions of these statements by choosing 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. Again, the author did not provide information with regard to how she simplified respondents' answers. I assume that all answers of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with the statements were categorised as affirmative answers, whereas those which disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements were subsequently classified as negative answers.

[57] This finding is based on answers to the statement 'I would like the speaker as my model of English' after they listened to the recordings. All respondents were asked to rate the statement after hearing every stimulus using 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. Unfortunately, the author did not provide information with regard to how she reduced respondents' answers into 'yes' or 'no'. I can only assume that all respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement were categorised as wishing to use the accent as a model, whereas those who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement were subsequently classified as not intending to use the accent as a model.

3.4 Research focuses and questions of the current study

Given the small number of studies related to Chinese-accented English and the even more limited number conducted on accents of English in Hong Kong, it is the intention in the current study to explore the following issues:

(1) Although previous research has shown that Hong Kong subjects tend to have more positive attitudes towards English varieties from the Inner Circle than those from the Outer and Expanding Circles, further investigation of their perceptions is needed. More specifically, there is a lack of consolidated evidence regarding the attitudes of Hong Kong people towards their own accent, a non-Inner Circle accent. Previous research suggests a general linguistic self-loathing amongst Hong Kong people. However, it also indicates a potential difference in attitudes towards the two varieties of HKE: HKed and HKbr, which has yet to be fully investigated. Furthermore, previous studies have suggested a gradual change in attitudes amongst Hong Kong subjects regarding these two accents. As far as the future development and sustainability of HKE is concerned, it is important to investigate the perception of Hong Kong people towards their local accents in order to confirm (or disconfirm) whether one of the HKE varieties might become acceptable as a symbol of local identity by Hong Kong people.

(2) There is a need to investigate which variety of English is most likely to act as a marker of linguistic identity in Hong Kong. It is for this reason that the current research includes a number of varieties of English: namely, standard varieties of English from the Inner Circle (RP and General American), local varieties of Hong Kong English (HKed and HKbr), and Mandarin-accented English (alternatively termed 'China English'), as well as Philippine English and Australian English, which are of importance in the local linguistic ecology.

(3) Prior research conducted in Hong Kong tended to employ mainly direct methods of language attitude measurement, such as evaluating subjects' attitudes through their reactions to a list of statements. Only recently have studies used more fine-grained and sophisticated methods such as MGT for the investigation of Hong Kong people's attitudes to varieties of English. However, any study that relies on only a single method may produce skewed results. Therefore, it is profitable to utilise a combined

methodology, employing direct as well as indirect approaches such as MGT to explore Hong Kong people's attitudes towards a wide range of varieties of English. Therefore, the current study uses a combined approach in order to compensate for the potential problem of over-reliance on the direct method. I will discuss in detail the direct instrument used in the current study in Chapter 4, section 4.6.2.

(4) Previous results have shown that Hong Kong subjects are able to identify RP, General American and HKE. However, it is not always clear whether the subjects are able to differentiate successfully between dialectal varieties of English from the Inner Circle, such as Tyneside English, or other circle varieties such as Mandarin-accented and Philippine English. Indeed, S. Poon's results even suggest that some of the local Hong Kong accents might have been misidentified as US accents, which could have significantly skewed the ratings of these accents. Obviously, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, the misidentification of a variety potentially reduces the validity of results. In my research, I therefore decided to include in my questionnaire an identification question in order to determine whether the subjects were actually able to identify the varieties of English in question, and these identification results were fed into my statistical analyses.

(5) Previous work by Bolton and Kwok (1990) suggests a gender effect on attitudes towards HKE which was not confirmed elsewhere, e.g., Luk (1998). To my knowledge, no detailed information has been provided regarding the relationship between language attitudes towards varieties of English in the East Asian world and such social variables. In the current study I therefore chose to determine whether and to what extent factors such as gender, medium of instruction in school, exposure to different varieties of English and socio-economic status may affect differences in attitude towards varieties of English in Hong Kong.

3.4.1 The research questions

With reference to the research areas detailed above, the current study thus aimed to investigate the following research questions, which will be the focus of subsequent chapters:

(i) What attitudes do Hong Kong informants hold towards

a HKE, more specifically towards the two main local varieties, HKed and HKbr?
b varieties of English spoken in the Inner Circle, more specifically, standardised varieties such as RP, General American English, Australian English and local dialects such as Tyneside English?
c other varieties of English spoken in Asian countries, specifically, HKE, Mandarin-accented English and Philippine English?

(ii) Are Hong Kong informants able to identify varieties of English? In particular,
a Are they able to distinguish HKE from other varieties? Distinguish HKed from HKbr?
b Are they able to distinguish RP, General American and Australian English from each other?
c Are they able to distinguish vernacular dialects, such as Tyneside English, from other Inner Circle varieties?
d Does the ability to identify a variety of English affect the informants' attitudes towards that variety?

(iii) Are social variables significant in determining Hong Kong informants' attitudes? In particular, are the variables of gender, perception of cultural identity, familiarity with English (including medium of instruction, education abroad, exposure to English) and socio-economic status influential?

(iv) What are Hong Kong informants' perceptions of HKE? In particular,
a Are their concerns with the intelligibility of HKE? Do they accept HKE as linguistic symbol of the Hong Kong people? Do they have a sense of ownership of HKE?
b Can they distinguish HKed from HKbr?

(v) What are the methodological implications of the findings for conducting language attitude research, especially in Hong Kong or China?

(vi) What are the pedagogical implications of the findings for the choice of linguistic model, both inside and outside Hong Kong?

Now that I have discussed the definition of attitudes and reviewed a number of language attitude studies, the next chapter will critically examine three main approaches with a particular focus on the methodology employed in the current study.

Chapter Four Methodology

Chapter Two discussed the nature of attitudes and introduced a series of important studies focusing on those conducted in Hong Kong. This chapter describes the methodology used here, particularly the 'verbal-guise technique', which permitted an in-depth study of Hong Kong people's attitudes towards different Englishes. I will also provide a detailed description of the research design and the data collection procedure, starting with an account of the varieties selected for evaluation. The chapter continues with a discussion of how exactly the social variables addressed here were approached.

4.1 Main approaches to the measurement of language attitudes

A number of methods for measuring language attitudes have been developed since the 1960s. They can be generally categorised into three broad approaches: the societal treatment approach, and the direct and indirect approaches. This section critically reviews these comparing their advantages and disadvantages.

4.1.1 The societal treatment approach

The societal treatment approach, also called 'content analysis', appears to be less prominent in mainstream language attitudes research. It evaluates attitudes through a content analysis of the 'treatment' given to a language or language variety, as well as to its speakers within a society (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 15). Research using this technique includes a diverse set of methodologies including participant observation and ethnography for: (i) the analysis of educational policy documents (Cots and Nussbaum 1999); (ii) research on the images of men and women in advertisements in the Asian context (Furnham *et al.* 2000); (iii) a study of Hong Kong identity conducted through an analysis of television programmes (Ma 1998), and (iv) research into political discourse (Fairclough 2005).

Although some studies employing the societal treatment approach obtained descriptive data through formal sampling procedures, a large number of them are

qualitative (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 15). The largely ethnographic and unobtrusive orientation of this method generally leads to researchers inferring attitudes from observed behaviour or document analysis. Indeed, the societal approach is not often mentioned in the contemporary discussion of language attitudes research since it is considered too 'informal' (*ibid.*) and insufficiently precise owing to its often small-scale, ethnographic nature. Furthermore, the study of language attitudes involves not only attitudes towards clearly identifiable language varieties, it also comprises specific attitudes towards various types of language behaviour, such as accent, voice quality, speech rate etc. Hence, the societal treatment approach is less likely to be used to analyse the latter (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 212) and is more likely to be utilised as a preliminary analytical tool for more rigorous attitude studies which collect data through indirect (see section 4.1.2) or direct (see section 4.1.3) methods. In fact, one of the principal factors that led me to conduct an attitude study on HKE was my informal observations of negative opinions amongst Hong Kong students regarding HKE. Thus, my research was initially formulated on the basis of a societal treatment approach.

It is important to note that this approach may also be used in circumstances where there is no access to informants in a natural context, or no possibility of conducting interviews or delivering questionnaires, or where there is a lack of time and space for direct access to informants. This is particularly likely to be the case when the focus of a study is on discourses in the larger cultural context rather than on individual speakers (Campbell-Kibler 2006: 60). A good example, therefore is Li's (2004) study on socio-historical and demographic trends and their impact on beliefs and attitudes regarding Chinese. In the case of the current study, since the intention was to measure the general attitudes of Hong Kong people towards eight varieties of English from the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles, it would have been difficult to obtain results which could be generalised to a large population through small-scale qualitative research. I thus chose to complement the societal treatment approach by also employing a number of direct and indirect research methods, which I will introduce later.

4.1.2 The direct approach

Compared to the societal treatment approach, which is unobtrusive in nature, the direct approach is characterised by a greater degree of obtrusiveness since informants are asked direct questions about their attitudes, usually through surveys, questionnaires and interviews. It thus allows researchers to investigate 'more kinds of both language varieties and attitudes' than the societal treatment approach (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 16). For example, this approach was used in studies evaluating attitudes of large populations such as Hong Kong undergraduates (Pierson *et al.* 1980; Pennington and Yue 1994; Hyland 1997); students of Welsh (Baker 1992), American-born Chinese (Cargile 1997) and Vietnamese speakers in Australia (Pittam *et al.* 1991). It has also been employed to measure attitudes towards single variables such as the appropriate pronunciation of the written letter (a) in foreign loan words in American English (Boberg 2009), or for studying the perceptions of the use of the new quotatives *go* and *like* in the contexts of the United States (Blyth *et al.* 1990; Dailey-O'Cain 2000) and the United Kingdom (Buchstaller 2006).

The direct question method is widely used in perceptual dialectology (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 44; Campbell-Kibler 2006: 59; McKenzie 2006: 56) and was developed from the field of folk-linguistics by Preston (1986, 1993, 1999), 'focusing on the individual speakers' beliefs regarding regional variation' (Campbell-Kibler 2006: 59). Perceptual dialectology employs a range of data collection tasks, which are reviewed by Preston (1999: xxxiv), and Long and Preston (2002). The most common are tasks which involve informants drawing lines on a blank map around areas where they think people speak the same language variety. These drawings indicate informants' beliefs about the location of regional speech zones. Other data-gathering tasks include asking informants to rank recorded speech stimuli or geographical regions for correctness and pleasantness, to guess the provenance of speakers based on speech recordings, as well as using open-ended conversations to explore further their beliefs regarding language varieties or speakers of such varieties. All these tasks can be presented in written form, e.g. questionnaire, or in individual interviews (Ryan and Giles 1982: 7). As outlined by Garrett *et al.* (2003: 27-28), there are a number of potential difficulties, mainly regarding the establishment of interview schedules and the wording of questionnaires, which are exemplified below.

Hypothetical questions, which ask how informants would behave in response to a particular event or action in an alternative world, are usually considered to be poor predictors of future or actual reactions when the event or action is actually encountered. The classic study of La Piere (1934, discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.1.3) clearly demonstrates the inconsistency between the hypothetical stated responses of hotel managers towards serving Chinese customers and their subsequent actual response/behaviour. For this reason, the use of hypothetical questions is less likely to result in an accurate prediction of actual behaviour.

Acquiescence bias is a tendency for informants to agree or disagree with an item regardless of its content, in order to gain the researcher's approval (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 29). This bias means that informants' responses might not be a true reflection of their actual attitudes, which in turn raises concerns regarding the validity of the data collected. This tendency is likely to be reduced 'where group discussion is encouraged' (*ibid.*).

Characteristics of the researchers, also termed interviewer's paradox, are another factor which can have a negative influence on the validity of attitude data (Labov 1970: 32; see also Chambers 2003: 20; Garrett *et al.* 2003: 29). These characteristics could be the researcher's personal attributes, such as his or her ethnicity, gender, social status, age, or even intimacy level with informants. Apart from this, the language that a researcher employs, such as the L1 or L2 of the researcher or informants, may also affect informants' responses to questionnaire or interview items (Ryan *et al.* 1988: 1073). Hence, for the data collection of the current study, the interviewer was kept constant and I used Cantonese, which is the informants' first language, to brief and debrief the participants. They were thus able to understand how to complete the questionnaire clearly and felt free to raise any question or concerns after that. It was also hoped that the use of the informants' L1 would avoid misunderstandings of the test.

Finally, *effects of prior discussion* may make a difference to questionnaire results. According to Giles *et al.* (1983), significant attitudinal differences have been found between groups of schoolchildren who have had a prior discussion about the questionnaire and groups who have not. Indeed, the effects of prior discussion may be even more significant in cases where a 'group polarisation' has taken place (see

Brown 1965) since prior discussion can make informants more extreme or polarised in their responses. For example, Garrett *et al.* (2003: 30) have found that attitudinal results obtained from a five-point attitude rating scale are likely to change from a moderately negative rating of 2 to an extremely negative rating of 1 or vice versa after a group discussion. However, it needs to be pointed out that these effects are less significant in interviews, which generally contain qualitative data. Since the current study is mainly quantitative, I did not provide explicit details of the nature of the research to the participants before the questionnaires were completed, which prevented them from engaging in group discussion.

Despite the potential pitfalls of the direct approach described above, a large number of attitude studies do employ it, including studies focusing on 'language evaluation (e.g., how favourably a variety is viewed), language preference (e.g., which of two languages or varieties is preferred for certain purposes in certain situations), desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups who use a particular variety, self-reports concerning language use, desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education, and opinions concerning shifting or maintaining language policies' (Ryan and Giles 1982: 7; Frank 1988; Pittam *et al.* 1991; Baker 1992; Boberg 2009; Moore and Bounchan 2010). Overall, the direct approach is likely be used in research that seeks to investigate people's beliefs about language or particular aspects of language use, though affect or behaviour arising from these beliefs are sometimes incorporated into the data-gathering procedure.

In the following section we move on to a discussion of the indirect approach as used in attitude research, which can be helpful in providing information regarding people's intended or even actual behaviour in accordance with their attitudes.

4.1.3 The indirect approach

Instead of expecting informants themselves to give an account of their attitudes, the indirect approach, which is also referred to as 'projective', is designed to make the purpose of attitude measurement less obvious to informants, so as to investigate their attitudes at a deeper level of awareness or perhaps below the level of conscious awareness (Oppenheim 1992: 210).

The indirect approach generally consists of making observations of subjects who are not aware that they are being observed, making observations of subjects' behaviour which cannot be controlled, and misleading subjects into thinking that the research is irrelevant to their attitudes (Dawes and Smith 1985). In other words, the approach involves a certain degree of deception of informants in order to gather data. Ethical considerations are therefore likely to be a major issue for studies employing the indirect approach. One possible way to overcome this problem is by debriefing the informants: i.e., informing them of the purposes, procedures and scientific value of the study, after the completion of the data-gathering procedures (Smith and Mackie 2000: 52). In the current study, the informants were debriefed as soon as they had finished completing the questionnaires.

The indirect approach is employed for the investigation of stereotypes, self-images and norm-perceptions, which are the main interests of the current study. By contrast, the societal treatment approach and the direct approach focus on ideologies and beliefs that speakers may project onto a language variety. These approaches do not, however, provide insights into 'the role that linguistic traits play in day-to-day individual interactions' (Campbell-Kibler 2006: 61). Thus, in the current study, the indirect approach was deemed to be more effective in order to evaluate attitudes which are based on people's reactions to a linguistic performance.

The matched-guise technique (Lambert *et al.* 1960, henceforth MGT) is the best known and most widely used indirect data collection method. As discussed in detail in the next section (4.2), the typical matched-guise technique involves asking respondents/judges to evaluate speakers' personalities after hearing them read the same passage in two or more language varieties. These recordings are usually made by the same person, a fact which is not revealed to the respondents. This is why they are called 'guises'.

The respondents evaluate the speakers' personalities according to a given list of personality traits.[58] These personality traits have been categorised into different groups by different researchers. Williams (1974) grouped his traits into the dimensions of eagerness and ethnicity. The traits employed in the study of Giles (1970) were based on three dimensions: aesthetic, communicative and status. Zahn and Hopper (1985) explored a large number of traits that had been assembled from various speech-evaluation scales in previous studies. Three factors were found to be highly relevant: prestige, social attractiveness and dynamism (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 53). The most dominant two dimensions/categories in language attitude studies are *status* and *solidarity*, which may be used to characterise the symmetrical and asymmetrical relations that exist between the personalities of individuals (e.g., Brown 1965; Carranza and Ryan 1975; Hiraga 2005; MeKenzie 2008; Cavallaro and Chin 2009).

Although the dimensions according to which personality traits have been classified vary from study to study, they more or less overlap with each other (Campbell-Kibler 2005: 72) and can in fact be generalised across these two major dimensions (Ryan and Giles 1982: 8): social *status* has been also called 'prestige' or 'competence' (traits such as intelligence, education, ambition or confidence). *Solidarity* is sometimes interpreted as 'affectiveness' or 'social attractiveness' (traits such as sincerity, friendliness or generosity, see Edwards 1999: 102; Giles and Coupland 1991: 34; Lindemann 2003; Garrett *et al.* 2003; see also section 4.2). As with other methods, MGT has its own advantages and disadvantages, which are critically reviewed and evaluated in section 4.2.

The above section has summarised the three broad approaches employed for assessing attitude, as well as the strengths and limitations of each approach. The results generated from a single research method may reduce reliability and validity and therefore lead to unwarranted conclusions. In order to compensate for the weaknesses inherent in each approach, the employment of more than one research method or technique seems to have become a general tendency in the measurement

[58] The traits tend to be presented on a semantic-differential scale, e.g., friendly/unfriendly, sociable/unsociable etc. (see Osgood *et al.* 1957), in order to represent the evaluations quantitatively.

of language attitudes (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 220). In particular, it is frequently recommended that MGT, which falls into the indirect approach category, be used in conjunction with direct methods such as written responses or oral interviews (El-Dash and Busnardo 2001: 61-62), in order to compensate for the problem of a decontextualised presentation of language varieties (as described below in section 4.2).

4.2 The matched-guise technique and its suitability in the current study

The methods of data collection for the current study draw on the MGT. The following sections first present a detailed examination of MGT in the light of its historical development and its application in a range of language attitude studies, in addition to drawing attention to the advantages of MGT. Then the method used in the current study, called the verbal-guise technique, which is a variant form of MGT, is introduced together with other methodological considerations, and the limitations of this particular instrument are described.

4.2.1 The historical development and the application of the matched-guise technique in the current study

The basic paradigm of MGT was created in the study conducted by Lambert *et al.* (1960) and this technique was employed in later language attitude studies in a range of community settings.

In the original study, as I pointed out above, listeners were deceived into believing that the recordings they were to judge were produced by different 'speakers'. However, the actual speakers were bilinguals who were competent in both French and English. They were asked to read a passage of prose in both languages. Employing bilingual speakers enables researchers to control for various paralinguistic features so that the language in which the passages are read becomes the only variable which can influence the listeners' perceptions. Other potentially confounding orthogonal variables, such as voice quality, speech rate, pitch etc., remain the same. This is important since it has been shown that prosodic and paralinguistic features may affect listeners' perceptions (Laver and Trudgill 1979;

Brown and Bradshaw 1985; Bezooijen and Boves 1986; Kerswill 2002; Laukka *et al.* 2008). For example, a quick speech rate generally indicates a competent speaker (Brown *et al.* 1985).

MGT has been extensively employed in a large number of language studies because of its many advantages, which are summarised below:

(i) MGT is a useful instrument for ascertaining people's latent attitudes, whereas methods involving direct questions may instead generate more socially acceptable statements from people (Giles and Coupland 1991: 35).

(ii) MGT is a well-established technique and benefits from having been applied in a number of divergent linguistic contexts, which have often generated different challenges for the technique but have also improved it in various ways since its inception (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 57).

(iii) MGT utilises bipolar semantic-differential scales, which permit people's evaluations to be quantified, which gives the opportunity to explore people's attitudes through their evaluations made on scales, and therefore provides data that can be subjected to rigorous statistical analysis, also across different studies.

(iv) The two main dimensions of personality traits – status and solidarity – are widely employed to categorise quantitative data and are also repeatedly included and tested in other language attitude studies.

Following Lambert *et al.*, researchers have used MGT to study attitudes towards different language varieties in a multitude of settings: for example, to study perceptions of the use of English in a multilingual setting (Bayard *et al.* 2001), to explore English, Cantonese and code switching in Hong Kong (Lyczak *et al.* 1976; Gibbons 1983), or to study attitudes towards French and English in Canada (Genesee and Holobow 1989). MGT has also been employed to investigate attitudes towards regional or social varieties of English, such as Chinese-accented English (Cargile 1997; Lindemann 2003; He and Li 2009), Indian accents in England (Elwell *et al.* 1984) and varieties of English in an Anglo-Hispanic context (Carranza and Ryan 1975; Dailey *et al.* 2004). McKenzie employed MGT to examine attitudes towards varieties of spoken English in Japan – a monolingual setting (2006, 2008).

As Campbell-Kibler (2005: 81) points out, '...attitudes are constantly formed, shared, acted upon, reacted to and reshaped.' Similarly, MGT as a research method is in the process of reform and innovation, its every application bearing the hallmarks of its own particular focus and the objectives of each study. In this vein, the current study combines and adapts techniques with the aim of exploring attitudes towards a relatively new variety of English spoken in Hong Kong, compared to older varieties from different parts of the globe.

Despite the widespread use of MGT in language attitude studies, the method is criticised for having certain limitations. I will now discuss the main critiques and innovations of the method with particular focus on its application in the current research.

4.2.1.1 The problem of authenticity and the use of the 'verbal-guise' technique

Generally speaking, the application of MGT requires speakers that have a balanced proficiency in two or more accents or languages, which may lead to the problem of accent authenticity or mimicking authenticity. For example, a speaker may inaccurately mimic, e.g., exaggerate vocal variations (Lee 1971), an accent or a language in order to achieve that accent guise as effectively as he/she can. It is doubtful whether one could claim that speech produced in such circumstances is ever truly authentic.

In addition, if a study aims to explore people's reactions to two or more varieties of a language, the researchers are unlikely to find speakers who are fully balanced bi/multilingual and are thus able to produce all the varieties under investigation (Campbell-Kibler 2005: 63). It is very rare to find one speaker who can produce two or more language guises, for example, who – even with considerable dialect coaching – can do so fairly consistently. It is extremely difficult – if not impossible – to find speakers who could produce a whole range of accents with relative fluency and accuracy. In order to circumvent this problem, a variant form of MGT – the 'verbal guise' method – has been developed (Giles 1970; Cooper 1975; Bayard *et al.* 2001; Garrett *et al.* 2003; Dailey *et al.* 2004; Lam 2007; S. Poon 2007; McKenzie 2008). For this technique, '...different speakers (...) represent each language or language variety' because of the concern that a single individual cannot 'exhibit

native-like control over each of the varieties in question' (Cooper 1975: 5). This technique ensures that every accent 'guise' is produced by a native speaker of that accent. One particular drawback of the verbal-guise method is that the use of multiple speakers introduces a host of uncontrolled paralinguistic features into the stimuli which render it difficult to ascertain what exactly triggers informants' evaluations. Nevertheless, the verbal-guise method is considered to be a useful way to obtain information, especially for research into standard versus non-standard varieties of language (Campbell-Kibler 2005: 63).

Indeed, minimising all paralinguistic and prosodic differences may not be necessary for certain kinds of research, particularly when the differences are true, naturally-occurring, characteristics of a language variety (e.g., Ladegaard 2001; Garrett *et al.* 2003: 59). For example, HKE speakers tend to stress all English pronouns, which are usually omitted in Chinese, as well as determiners, which do not exist in Chinese (as outlined in Chapter 2, section 2.4).

A number of studies have successfully employed the verbal-guise technique in order to use authentic native speakers (Giles 1970; Bayard *et al.* 2001; Lindemann 2003; Dailey *et al.* 2005; McKenzie 2006 and 2008). Hiraga (2005), for example, used speech samples from six different speakers for the purposes of accent authenticity. Similarly, Dailey *et al.* (2005:30) selected two males and two females from a number of potential speakers to record stimuli relevant to their investigation of Hispanic accents. McKenzie (2008: 68) also discusses the practical difficulty of finding a single speaker who could authentically produce all six varieties of English under investigation. Consequently, for the present study one speaker per stimulus was chosen: four speakers from the Inner Circle and two speakers from the Expanding Circle.

The current research thus contributes to the growing number of studies that rely on the verbal-guise technique in order to ascertain accent authenticity and convey the most naturalistic accent possible. At the outset, I actually tried to find a person who could produce all the varieties of English in question. However, even after considerable practice, the three potential speakers were still unable reliably and accurately to produce them all. Under these circumstances, it was thought to be most judicious to employ the verbal-guise technique, rather than a classic MGT.

4.2.1.2 The problem of neutrality and the inclusion of a contextual question in the current study

The stimuli used in traditional MGT tend to be recordings of a speaker reading out the same factually neutral passage for good reason. No identification information (e.g., the speaker's social background or regional provenance) should be guessed from the chosen text to ensure that the language variety is the sole variable which impacts on listeners' attitudes. The current study uses such a text in order to control for the varieties under investigation. However, the text exists in a relative vacuum as regards its socio-historical context. This decontextualised presentation of the stimulus invites informants to draw their own, uncontrolled for, inferences regarding the purpose of the text, the context in which it was produced, as well as the identity of the speakers. It is important to bear in mind that the use of decontextualised speech samples in MGT studies may run the risk of undermining the validity of the data and lead to misleading conclusions, since a number of studies have shown that a variation in context can lead to different results. For example, listeners may evaluate a speech in an entirely different way depending on whether they believe it to be taking place in the context of a social interaction, or as part of an employment interview (Street and Brady 1982; Gates. *Et al.* 1983; Cargile 1997).

Some researchers have found ways to replace the decontextualised, neutral text usually read in typical MGT. For example, naturally occurring conversations were used in many studies (e.g., Giles *et al.* 1975; Hughes and Trudgill 1979; Wells 1982; Creber and Giles 1983; Hiraga 2005; Buchstaller 2006).

Indeed, the question: 'How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?' was included in the present study so as to provide some contextual cues for informants. To some extent, this question suggests to them that the recordings were made by radio announcers, which avoids the problem of informants predetermining contextual information in the process of their evaluation.

The question of suitability for the position of radio announcer has also been investigated in other studies (Bolton and Kwok 1990; Dalton-Puffer *et al.* 1997; Dailey *et al.* 2005; Labov *et al.* 2006). None of these explicitly stated their reasons for using the context of selecting a radio announcer. However, the position of radio

announcer does have social status attached to it since it is one that is normally held by speakers of the 'standard' language and the criteria of solidarity may well also be involved as an announcer is usually a linguistic representative of the local community.

This question is particularly significant in an Outer Circle context because successful applicants for the position of radio announcer in Hong Kong are usually speakers of RP or General American English, two varieties that are widely believed in this region to be 'standard' English, since they are presented in language textbooks and taught in English language classes. It was thus expected that informants would rate the speaker's suitability according to their adherence to the standard language norms of the local milieu, and that RP/General American speakers would be perceived to be more suitable than those whose accents could be identified as HKed/HKbr, Philippine English and Mandarin-accented English.

To a certain extent, then, the radio announcer question examines the degree of informants' acceptance of 'standard' and 'non-standard' varieties of English in Hong Kong society without explicitly asking them about the issue of standard or non-standard English. As stated in Chapter 2, section 2.1, the Outer Circle is often described as 'norm-developing' – communities in the process of developing their own standards for the English language. However, people from these areas are also aware of ideologies according to which Anglo-American norms are considered 'superior' and their own varieties 'deficient'. The suitability question therefore explores Hong Kong people's perceptions of English norms, emergent ones as well as long established ones. Comparing the results obtained for this question with other parts of the questionnaire also allows me to explore the dilemma between linguistic norms and linguistic behaviour as mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.1.

4.2.1.3 The problem of accent identification and the inclusion of accent recognition in the current study

Previous research has demonstrated that in some cases subjects' evaluations do not actually relate directly to the varieties under investigation, mainly because of mis-identification of the social/regional area a variety represents. Since this is the case, informants' reactions may be based on social stereotypes associated with the 'wrong'

variety (Milroy and McClenaghan 1977; Dailey-O'Cain 1999; Preston 1999; Williams *et al.* 1999; Bayard *et al.* 2001) and there is thus a real chance that this misinterpretation will affect the reliability of data collected by MGT.

However, some studies have demonstrated that the impact of (mis-)identification is not as problematic as it might first appear. Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) stated that the predicted evaluations of Scottish, southern Irish, Ulster and RP varieties held even when listeners did not identify the accent correctly. This finding was confirmed by Dailey-O'Cain (1999), who obtained similar results for German listeners' identification and evaluation of various German dialects. Under certain circumstances, therefore, it may well not be necessary for listeners to accurately identify accents since the characteristics of a variety may directly evoke stereotyped responses (Milroy and McClenaghan 1977: 9).

It is important to remember that the inherent value hypothesis claims that language varieties have inherently 'pleasant' characteristics and that it is these accentual features that 'trigger the evaluative reactions in listeners', rather than external factors (Williams *et al.* 1999: 347). On the other hand, the social connotation hypothesis maintains that people's attitudes towards any variety are based on imposed social norms. These social connotations impose certain pressures on people's judgments and they tend to evaluate a particular variety as either prestigious/desirable or as low in status (Hiraga 2005). Therefore, a closer analysis of (mis)identification of varieties might shed some light on the issue of whether people's attitudes towards different varieties are based on the inherent quality or the socially imposed value of such varieties.

In order to control for the mis- or non-perception of the language areas, some researchers have conducted a preliminary check with professional linguists (e.g., Luk 1998; He and Li 2009), or with the target group (e.g., Price *et al.* 1983: 154), in order to ensure that the speech samples were identifiable by a comparable group. Some attitude surveys include a question that checks voice sample identification (e.g.,

Giles 1970; Lindemann 2003: 353; Bayard *et al.* 2001; Hiraga 2005).[59] Including accent recognition in the design of MGT has the advantage of informing us as to whether the informants correctly identify the varieties in question. Another benefit of such a combined method is that it enables the researcher to triangulate accent evaluation, accent recognition and social stereotypes attached to the perceived accent.

There are two principal ways to incorporate accent identification into MGT: using a predetermined list of varieties for the informants to choose from, or posing an open question to allow them to give any answer. The use of a predetermined list not only minimises the possibility of mis-identifying manipulated accents, but it also gives the informants a concise and easy way to answer the question (Bayard *et al.* 2001: 31).

However, since the current study comprised eight varieties of English and the ethnicity of four of them is Chinese/Asian (i.e., Mandarin-accented, Philippine, HKbr and HKed), I chose not to employ a predetermined list. This is because such a list would not have provided clear information as to whether the informants identified these different varieties correctly or whether they simply guessed the provenances of the speakers from the list. As a consequence, the current study used an open question to determine how accurately informants were able to identify these accents (see section 4.6.1).

4.2.1.4 The repeated use of similar attitude rating scales and the pilot studies on traits in the current research

Although repeating similar scales has the advantage of maintaining comparability across studies, it is still nearly impossible simply to transpose traits from one study to another since not all traits will necessarily be appropriate or meaningful for all of the vastly different linguistic and social groups tested (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 62). As El-Dash and Busnardo (2001: 62) pointed out, personality/character traits are usually 'highly culture-bound'. In other words, certain traits that are secure in one context

[59] The technique of mapping and labelling the regional provenance of voice samples is used extensively in dialectological studies (Preston 1989: 3).

might not be suitable in another. Another major problem associated with repeatedly using traits from previous studies is that traits that have not been explored before will never be investigated. That is, the well-documented traits simply become better documented, whereas the relatively rare traits or those which have not been documented at all, remain unstudied (Garrett *et al.* 2003). It is therefore not surprising that some researchers have felt the need to conduct independent, preliminary ethnographic research amongst their target group in order to ensure that the selected traits are truly meaningful within the specific cultural context of the study (e.g., Williams 1974; Lyczak *et al.* 1976; Nesdale and Rooney 1996; El-Dash and Busnardo 2001; Campbell-Kibler 2005; Hiraga 2005).

For example, in a language attitude study carried out in Japan, McKenzie (2008) included 'intelligent, confident, fluent, clear' in the status traits, while the dimension of solidarity comprised 'gentle, pleasant, funny'. However, Dailey *et al.* (2005) chose 'friendly, good-natured, kind, nice' for solidarity and 'lazy, ambitious, smart, educated' for status in their study of the attitudes of Anglo- and Hispanic-American adolescents. Even within the same community, the selection of traits may be different for the purpose of the study. For instance, Ladegaard conducted two different studies to investigate the attitudes of subjects in Denmark towards English accents (Ladegaard 1998a) and Danish accents (Ladegaard 1998b). Ladegaard's (1998a: 186) study of English included 'reliability, friendliness, helpfulness, humour' in the dimension of solidarity (referring to social attractiveness), whereas 'self-confidence, reliability, friendliness, sense of humour' were categorised into the dimension of solidarity in his study of Danish (1998b: 259).

Another important point to consider involves the presentation of traits on bi-polar scales, which requires that every trait have 'the qualities of gradeability and (usually) an antonym' (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 65). However, this results in a number of problems: some traits do not have antonyms, while others might have a range of antonyms with slightly different meanings, and it is often difficult to decide which antonym is the most suitable, especially when the language under investigation is not the native language of the subjects. For instance, the antonym for 'friendly' could be simply 'unfriendly', or, in another context, the word 'cold' might be more appropriate. In order to circumvent this problem, some studies have used 'unidirectional scales':

involving, for instance, the use of 'friendly/not friendly at all' instead of 'friendly/unfriendly' (Bayard *et al.* 2001; McKenzie 2008) or by rating 'friendly' from 'definitely yes' to 'definitely no' (Dailey *et al.* 2005: 30).

Other researchers depend on separate research (e.g., ethnographic fieldwork or pilot questionnaires) to ensure that the selected traits are paired with their given relevant antonyms. Importantly, with the exception of Lyczak *et al.* (1976) and McKenzie (2008), no research has been carried out into whether the traits which are commonly used in MGT, as well as their antonyms, are relevant in East Asian or Chinese communities. In McKenzie's (2006: 114) pilot study, 21 Japanese students were invited to listen to recordings and they were asked to provide one or two adjectives to describe each speaker they heard. All in all, McKenzie collected 34 adjectives from the pilot study, eight of which were frequently mentioned. These eight traits were employed as semantic-differential labels for the main MGT.

I also conducted a pilot analysis in order to guide me in selecting appropriate traits and to ensure that those ultimately selected were meaningful for the community. For this pilot study, two focus group interviews with nine Hong Kong interviewees were conducted with the aim of examining their general reactions to the speakers of the stimuli – the same ones as later used in the full questionnaire – and especially to the HKE speakers.[60] The first group consisted of three Hong Kong interviewees who were doing a six-month exchange programme in the UK at the time the interview was conducted; the second group consisted of six Hong Kong interviewees who were doing a Bachelor's degree in the UK. All interviewees, who were invited to take part in the first pilot study through personal contacts, were born and grew up in Hong Kong.

Each interview lasted for about an hour and the interviewees were given sufficient time to express their opinions. First, they were asked to listen to four stimuli of HKE. Then they were encouraged to use any adjective that came to their minds and to give

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[60] It should be noted that the information obtained from the preliminary ethnographic interviews was also used to construct six statements in the questionnaire (discussed in section 4.6.2).

comments to describe the recording. I noted down all adjectives they chose to describe the stimuli.[61] From these two interviews, I extracted all the adjectives/traits and tabulated them by order of frequency. Interestingly, this method resulted in some traits that are not typically used in attitudinal research, such as 'hard-working'.[62]

In a second pilot study, the 30 traits that were derived from the first pilot were presented in English to 14 informants: 10 students from the Chinese University of Hong Kong and 4 Hong Kong students who were studying in the UK as undergraduates. The framework of this questionnaire was based mainly on that used by Hiraga (2005). The informants were asked to select the ten traits that they thought were the most appropriate and relevant to their own society (see Appendix 1 for the full questionnaire). The questionnaire concluded with an open question in which respondents were asked to add any other relevant traits that were not included in the questionnaire. A number of additional traits were collected in this way, such as 'modern' or 'creative'.

On the basis of these two pilot studies, 21 traits were identified according to how frequently the informants selected the trait to describe the HKE speaker.[63] After consulting with two professional linguists, the antonyms of these 21 traits were decided upon. These traits and their respective antonyms were put at either end of a five-point semantic-differential scale in the verbal-guise test (see Table 4.1). Since these traits were in English in my pilot studies and since the meanings of these adjectives are likely to be different when translated into Chinese, these traits were presented in English in the final questionnaire.[64]

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[61] Although I used Cantonese to conduct the interviews, most of interviewees tended to code-switch between Cantonese and English, especially when they were encouraged to use some adjectives to describe the stimuli. This is probably because the interviews were conducted in the UK, so that the interviewees were immersed in an English-speaking environment, but it might also be due to the fact that code-switching is common in Hong Kong society.

[62] 'Hard-working' is traditionally considered to be a desirable characteristic among the Chinese community. For example, a 1994 survey found that both Chinese (89.5%) and Hongkongese (86.1%) had tremendous respect for hard-working people, whereas 'people who succeeded primarily because of luck' were only respected by 13.2% of Hongkongese and 18.9% of Chinese (Lau 2000: 264).

[63] All 21 traits were presented in one randomised order to the informants, as shown in Table 4.1.

[64] Two Hong Kong PhD students of linguistics were also consulted regarding the antonyms of these

Table 4.1 shows the 21 traits in the semantic-differential scale used in the verbal-guise test in the current study.

Table 4.1 The final 21 traits used in the semantic-differential scale

01.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
02.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
03.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
04.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
05.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
06.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
07.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
08.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
09.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
10.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
11.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
12.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
13.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
14.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
15.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
16.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
17.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
18.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
19.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
20.	old-fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
21.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

The next section moves on to provide a detailed discussion of the research design. I first give an account of the varieties of English selected for evaluation, in addition to providing background information on the speakers of these varieties who participated in the study. I continue with a discussion of how the social variables which are to be taken into consideration were selected, focusing on the sample population employed in the current study. The section also provides a more detailed description of the research instruments employed and of the results of the pilot study, as well as giving an outline of the data collection procedure used in the main part of the research.

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traits in order to select the most suitable ones. I also translated all of them into Chinese. Although the Chinese version was not used in the study, it was prepared in case any informant had difficulty in understanding the traits and their antonyms.

4.3 The varieties of English selected

As already noted, one of the main objectives of the current study was to measure the attitudes of Hong Kong people towards varieties of English, especially HKE. More specifically, the intention was to investigate whether Hong Kong informants hold different attitudes towards

a) two Hong Kong varieties: HKed and HKbr
b) varieties of English spoken in the Inner Circle
c) varieties of English spoken in Asian countries

In order to obtain answers to these research questions, eight varieties of English were selected and recorded for the purpose of attitudinal research. These varieties are: HKed, HKbr, RP, General American English, Australian English, Tyneside English, Philippine English and Mandarin-accented English. However, it is important to bear in mind that each specific example chosen is merely one representative of that variety, which has local, social and historical variability.

I will now investigate these accents in more detail. As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4, HKed and HKbr are – at least from a phonological perspective – considered to be two varieties positioned along a scale of accentedness (i.e., from mild to broad). Previous attitude research has demonstrated that respondents from the Inner Circle with no linguistic training were able to pick up on even small differences in the amount of accentedness and that the degree of accentedness may indeed be a factor that influences listeners' evaluations (e.g., Giles 1972; Ryan 1973; Brennan *et al.* 1975; Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles and Coupland 1991: 39). Usually, the more heavily-accented a speaker's voice is, the less positively he/she is evaluated by native speakers of English in terms of status, especially when the variety is spoken by a non-native speaker of the language in question (e.g., Ryan *et al.* 1977; Cargile 1997; Dalton-Puffer *et al.* 1997). It is therefore worthwhile investigating whether the degree of accentedness also affects the evaluations of non-native speakers of English in the context of Hong Kong, especially when compared with native and non-native accents.

Since RP and General American are widely accepted as standard norms in Hong Kong, guises from these varieties were selected for this research (discussed in detail in section 4.3.1). This choice is supported by the fact that RP and General American tend to be included in most attitude studies as reference varieties since they are usually rated high in terms of status.

Tyneside English, popularly termed 'Geordie', is a variety of English spoken in the Tyneside region of north-east England. As mentioned in Chapter 3, section 3.3.1, previous studies (e.g., Giles 1970; Ryan *et al.* 1984; Giles *et al.* 1995; Garrett *et al.* 2003; Garrett *et al.* 2005) have reported that non-standard varieties tend to be rated lowest in terms of status. The inclusion of Tyneside English in this study thus enables me to explore whether non-native speakers, such as Hong Kong people, who are in all probability not familiar with this variety, perceive this dialect in the same way.

Australian English, can similarly be classified as a variety from the Inner Circle. According to official statistics, the number of Hong Kong students studying in Australia increases yearly and now accounts for 22.2% of all Hong Kong citizens aged 25 or below who were studying outside Hong Kong, coming second after Canada (see Figure 4.1).

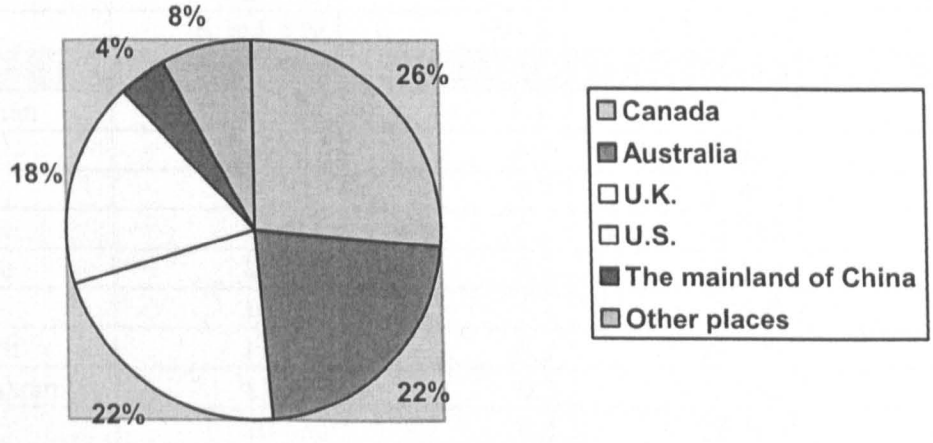

Figure 4.1 Percentage distribution of persons aged 25 and below who were studying outside Hong Kong by current place of study in 2002 (Adapted from Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong, 2002)

The informants who participated in the current study may thus be relatively familiar with Australian English through personal acquaintance. For example, it is possible

that some informants might hear this accent spoken by friends studying in Australia who have acquired an Australian accent. However, it might still be difficult for Hong Kong people more generally to differentiate Australian English from other Inner Circle varieties of English. Besides, Australian English was not rated as highly as RP or General American by native speakers in Bayard *et al.* (2001, see Chapter 3, section 3.3.1). It is thus worthwhile to investigate whether Hong Kong informants perceive this accent in a similar way to the subjects in Bayard *et al.*

I also included Philippine English, another new variety of English that is of major cultural importance in the Hong Kong context. As can be seen from Table 4.2 below, Filipinos were the second largest population group in Hong Kong (with 2.1% in 2001 and 1.6% in 2006, see The Government of HKSAR Census and Statistics Department). According to the Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong, the majority of people in the ethnic minority groups (Filipinos and Indonesians) are women aged between 27 and 38 working as domestic helpers (see The Government of HKSAR Census and Statistics Department). The inclusion of Philippine English thus enabled me to investigate the possible stereotypes associated with a variety which is associated with non-skilled domestic labourers in Hong Kong.

Table 4.2: Population by Ethnicity in Hong Kong, 2001 and 2006

Ethnicity	2001		2006	
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total
Chinese	6 364 439	94.9	6 522 148	95.0
Filipino	142 556	2.1	112 453	1.6
Indonesian	50 494	0.8	87 840	1.3
White	46 584	0.7	36 384	0.5
Indian	18 543	0.3	20 444	0.3
Nepalese	12 564	0.2	15 950	0.2
Japanese	14 180	0.2	13 189	0.2
Thai	14 342	0.2	11 900	0.2
Pakistani	11 017	0.2	11 111	0.2
Other Asian	12 835	0.2	12 663	0.2
Others	20 835	0.3	20 264	0.3
Total	6 708 389	100.0	6 864 346	100.0
Source: 2006 Population By Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong				

Mandarin-accented English was selected for inclusion in this study because Mandarin became one of the official languages in Hong Kong after the change in sovereignty in 1997 (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3). Indeed, increasing numbers of

people emigrate from mainland China to Hong Kong every year.[65] Most are highly skilled and talented immigrants who have entered Hong Kong through the Quality Migrant Admission Scheme (QMAS),[66] and they play important roles in Hong Kong's political, cultural and economic domains. However, it takes time for Mandarin speakers from mainland China to learn Cantonese, which is the dialect spoken in Hong Kong. Consequently, these highly skilled immigrants tend to use Mandarin-accented English as their medium of communication.

The inclusion of Mandarin-accented English thus allowed me to explore Hong Kong people's attitudes towards a distinctive Chinese variety of English which is often dubbed: 'China English'. While there are numerous works on its salient linguistic features (e.g., Jiang 1995; Kirkpatrick and Xu 2002; Hung 2005; Xu 2005; Deterding 2006: 179-194; F. Poon 2006; He and Li 2009: 72), the range of accents and dialects subsumed under this umbrella makes it very difficult to generalise about the phonological features of China English (Zhou and Feng 1987; Cheng 1992; F. Poon 2006: 24; Deterding 2006: 176) or to argue that certain features are common to all speakers of this variety, which is more accurately described as a bundle of related varieties (Kirkpatrick 2007: 146; He and Li 2009: 72). Hence, in the current study the term 'Mandarin-accented English' is instead used to refer to the Chinese variety of English spoken by Mandarin speakers, thus avoiding the problem of generalisation.[67] Indeed, owing to the fact that China has the largest population in the world and the largest number of English learners, it is quite possible that 'China English' might become the variety of English spoken by the largest number of people in the world (Hu 2004: 31). An investigation of Hong Kong people's attitudes

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[65] Nowadays, the number of immigrants from the mainland to Hong Kong is limited to up to 150 people per day, whereas 'the total number of Mainland immigrants amounted to only 38,100, only 69% of the total allocation for the year [of 2004]' according to the Quality Migrant Admission Scheme (Takeuchi 2006: 23).

[66] Since the scheme was launched in June of 2006 and up to the end of 2007, 1,214 applications were received. 322 of these applicants were approved to immigrate to Hong Kong (see The Immigration Department of HKSAR).

[67] It should be noted that Mandarin-accented English is not monolithic since the speakers of this variety are usually influenced by other Chinese dialects. For example, a speaker who is fluent in both Mandarin and Cantonese might exhibit features of both Mandarin-accented English and HKE when speaking English. Therefore, the use of 'Mandarin-accented English' can minimise the generalisation, but it does not eliminate the problem.

towards this variety might thus provide valuable indications of people's perceptions of its speakers.

The next section provides some details of the speakers of the eight varieties of English chosen for the current study each of which was represented by two speakers (16 speakers in total).

4.3.1 Background of the selected speakers

The strategy of each variety being represented by two speakers allowed me to determine whether attitudes towards a particular variety of English remain constant even when idiosyncratic paralinguistic elements change. Table 4.3 presents a summary of the speakers selected for the study.

Table 4.3: Provenance and accent of speakers employed in this study

Speaker	Provenance	Age	Coded reference
General American 1	North-East USA	26-30	AmE 1
General American 2	North-East USA	51-55	AmE 2
Tyneside 1	Byker, Newcastle	26-30	TynE 1
Tyneside 2	Wallsend, Newcastle	26-30	TynE 2
Australian 1	Western Australia	31-35	AusE 1
Australian 2	South-western Australia	31-35	AusE 2
Broad Hong Kong 1	Hong Kong	36-40	HKbr 1
Broad Hong Kong 2	Hong Kong	26-30	HKbr 2
Educated Hong Kong 1	Hong Kong	36-40	HKed 1
Educated Hong Kong 2	Hong Kong	26-30	HKed 2
Philippine 1	Northern Philippines	31-35	PE 1
Philippine 2	North-western Philippines	26-30	PE 2
Mandarin 1	Beijing, P.R. China	26-30	ME 1
Mandarin 2	Tianjing[68], P.R. China	36-40	ME 2
RP 1	Ireland	51-55	RP 1
RP 2	Ireland	46-50	RP 2

Since gender and age are two factors which affect voice quality and may therefore have an influence on informants' attitudes, the current study kept the gender of

[68] The Tianjing dialect is also classed as a northern Chinese dialect. Tianjing is a city very close to Beijing (See Appendix 3: Map of People's Republic of China). Although Tianjing has its own dialect, which is very similar to Mandarin, speakers tend to also be able to speak Mandarin.

speakers constant and only used females. It also controlled for age, choosing an age range between 26 and 55 years with a mean age of 39 (SD=12). Because the varieties of English employed in the study – except for RP – are regional varieties, all except for the RP speakers were chosen on the basis that they were born and brought up as native speakers of the variety in question. All speakers' voices were listened to by a number of judges, including two professional linguists and two research students specialising in linguistics who unanimously agreed that all speakers were authentic representations of the varieties of English in question and that it was difficult to identify the speakers' ages as none of the voices sounded particularly young or old.

Before recording the stimuli from these sixteen speakers, I conducted a short interview to obtain ethnographic information. Although there was no formal agenda for the interview, it focused on the following questions: "a) Where were you born and where did you grow up? B) What is your first language and what kind of accent do you have? C) How long did you stay in the region which mainly uses the accent/variety of English you speak?" The actual recordings were conducted in an informal manner, to allow the speakers to relax and record the stimuli as naturally as possible. Since the verbal-guise technique is designed to make the recordings more natural, it is important for each speaker to produce the stimuli in a relaxed and casual atmosphere in order to achieve maximum authenticity. All speakers were asked to read a pre-selected factually neutral text (see Appendix 2).

Table 4.4 below outlines some salient features of the four varieties used in the current study: RP (Hughes and Trudgill 1996; Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 9; Roach 2004, Drummond 2010, p.c.), General American English (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 35; Wells 1982: 470), Tyneside English (Foulkes and Docherty 1999; Trudgill 2000: 39; Hughes and Trudgill 1996; Wells 1982: 349; Drummond 2010), Australian English (Hannahs 2009, p.c.; Horvath 2004: 625; Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 16-23; Wells 1982: 594).

Table 4.4: Phonological features of RP 1, RP 2, AmE 1, AmE 2, TynE 1, TynE 2, AusE 1 and AusE 2

	RP 1	RP 2	AmE 1	AmE 2	TynE 1	TynE 2	AusE 1	AusE 2
Reading style and accuracy	Monotonous reading	Expressive reading	Monotonous reading	Expressive reading	Monotonous reading	Muffled quality sounding	Near RP, Monotonous reading	Low pitch, less monotonous reading
Rhoticity	Non-rhotic; released /t/	Non-rhotic; released /t/	Rhotic /r/ in *stronger, were, more;* Flap intervocalic and prevocalic /t/ in *disputing.*	Rhotic /r/ in *stronger, were, more;* Flap intervocalic and prevocalic /t/ in *disputing.*	Non-rhotic	Non-rhotic	Non-rhotic	Non-rhotic
CLOTH	[ɔː] in *off*	[ɒ] in *off*	[ɔ] in *off*	[ɔ] in *off*	[ɔ] in *off*	[ɔ] in *off*	[ɔ] in *off*	[ɔ] in *off*
NORTH	[ɒ] in *north, warm*	[ɒ] in *north, warm*	[ɔr] in *north, warm, more*	[ɔr] in *north, warm, more*			[ɒ] in *north*	[ɒ] in *north*
Weak vowel	[ə] in traveller	[ə] in traveller	[ə] in traveller	[ə] in traveller	[a] in traveller	[a] in traveller	[ə] in traveller	[ə] in traveller
GOAT	[əʊ] in *cloak, fold*	[əʊ] in *cloak, fold*	[oʊ] in *cloak, fold*	[əʊ] in *cloak, fold*	[oʊ] in *cloak, fold*	[əʊ] in *cloak, fold*	[əʊ] in *cloak, fold*	[əʊ] in *cloak, fold*

KID	[ɪ] in *wind*	[ɪ] in *wind*	[ɪ] in *wind*	[ɪ] in *wind*	[ɪ] in *wind*	[ɪ] in *wind*	[i:] in *wind, in, immediately, him*; raised almost to [ɪ] in *attempt*	[ɪ] in *wind*
DRESS	[e] in *attempt*	[e] in *attempt*	[ɛ] in *attempt*	[ɛ] in *attempt*	[e] in *attempt*	[e] in *attempt*	[e] in *attempt*	[e] in *attempt*
STRUT	[ʌ] in *sun*	[ʌ] in *sun*	[ʌ] in *sun*	[ʌ] in *sun*	[ʊ] in *sun*	[ə] in *sun*	[ʌ] in *sun*	[ʌ] in *sun*
FACE	[eɪ] in *take, came*	[eɪ] in *take, came*	[eɪ] in *take, came*	[eɪ] in *take, came*	[e] in *take, came*	[e] in *take, came*	[eɪ] in *take, came*	[eɪ] in *take, came*
Wh-	[hw] in *which*	[w] in *which*	[w] in *which*	[hw] in *which*	[w] in *which*	[w] in *which*	[hw] in *which*	[w] in *which*
Voiceless Stops	[k] in *making;* [t] in *disputing;* [k] in *came, considered* and *could*; [t] in *took*	[k] in *making;* [t] in *disputing;* [k] in *came, considered* and *could*; [t] in *took*	[k] in *making;* [t] in *disputing;* [k] in *came, considered* and *could*; [t] in *took*	[k] in *making;* [t] in *disputing;* [k] in *came, considered* and *could*; [t] in *took*	Glottal reinforced stop, such as /kʔ/ in *making,* /tʔ/ in *disputing*	Glottal reinforced stop, such as /kʔ/ in *making,*/tʔ/ in *disputing, attempt*	[k] in *making;* [t] in *disputing;* [k] in *came, considered* and *could*; [t] in *took*	[k] in *making;* [t] in *disputing;* [k] in *came, considered* and *could*; [t] in *took*

Please note that detailed biographical background of each speaker can be found in Appendix 4. I shall now discuss some general features of these eight speakers. Although the RP accent has long been regarded as uniquely prestigious amongst British varieties (L. Milroy 1999:185), it has always been a minority accent (Kachru and Nelson 2006: 11; see also Roach 2004). According to McArthur (1992: 851), it is 'unlikely ever to have been spoken by more than 3-4% of the British population'. RP was historically spoken by speakers in the south-east of England, but nowadays is a non-regional accent which can be found amongst the educated middle and upper classes all across the British Isles (L. Milroy 1999: 188; Bauer 2002). Taking these facts into account, the concept of RP as employed in the current study is virtually equivalent to Wells' (1982: 297) of RP, which is indeed perceived as 'educated', 'well-spoken', 'middle-class'. As stated in Table 4.4, RP 2 had a professional style of reading with wide tessitura, while RP 1 read the text in a relatively flatter way. This might lead to different ratings for the two speakers.

General American English (hereafter AmE) is defined by Wells (1982: 470) as a variety of American English that does not show marked eastern or southern characteristics. In other words, AmE generally comprises of a bundle of varieties spoken mainly in inland northern America which does not exhibit any pronounced features of a regional accent which often attract a great deal of prejudice (Wells 1982: 470; Preston 1989; Kachru 1992: 51; Lippi-Green 1997: 57; Fough 2002: 132; see also Chapter 3, section 3.3.1). AmE is sometimes referred to as 'Network American English', which is used by almost all spoken media presenters (Hiraga 2005). Table 4.4 shows that both AmE speakers demonstrated typical American accent, such as rhoticity and t-flapping. However, comparing to AmE 2 who read the story in an expressive way, AmE 1 had a monotonous reading style paying less attention to convey the story.

As mentioned previously, Tyneside English (hereafter TynE) is spoken in the traditionally industrial area comprising Newcastle upon Tyne itself together with the surrounding urban areas (Wells 1982: 374; Hughes and Trudgill 1987: 70). Both TynE speakers showed the features of Tyneside accent, for instances, [e] in *take* and *make*. Interestingly, both of them produced [a] in ***traveller*** (Drummond, p.c. and

2010). Please note that, comparining to the recording of TynE 1, the recording of TynE 2 has certain muffled quality sounding which might affect listeners' ratings.

Australian English (hereafter AusE) is considered to have a relatively small amount of regional variation (Horvath 2004: 626) and the little there is tends to be lexical (Trugill and Hannah 2002: 16). AusE 1 and AusE 2 have cultivated Australian accent which is close to RP (Horvath 2004: 626, see Table 4.4). However, both AusE speakers read in a relatively flatter way paying less attention to sentence structure or conveying the story.

Table 4.5 below outlines some salient features of the other four varieties used in the current study: Philippine English (Tayao 2004: 2004: 1048; Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 138; Wells 1982: 647; Tongsen 2009, p.c.), Mandarin-accented English (He and Li 2009; Deterding 2006; F. Poon 2006; Xu 2005; Hung 2005); a detailed description of the phonology of HKE and the characteristics of HKed and HKbr was provided in Chapter 2, section 2.4.

Table 4.5 : Phonological features of PE 1, PE 2, Hked 1, Hked 2, HKbr 1, HKbr 2

	PE 1	PE 2	ME 1	ME 2	HKed 1	HKed 2	HKbr 1	HKbr 2
Reading style and accuracy	Fast but hesitant reading	Monotonous and hesitant reading	More expressive sounding as it went on, certain noise in the background	More epenthesis, deletion or changing of verbal morphology	Expressive reading/ interested sounding	Monotonous reading	Monotonous reading	Monotonous reading
Rhoticity	Rhoticity in the words *stronger* and *traveller.*	Rhoticity in the words *stronger* and *traveller.*	Rhoticity /r/ in *stronger, traveller* owing to her educational background.	Rhotic variability	Non-rhotic	Rhotic variability	no sign of AmE or RP influence /æ/ in *and;*	Non-rhotic /æ/ in *and;*
Vowel Reduction	[æ] in *and;* [ɔ] in *of*	[æ] in *and;* [ɔ] in *of*	[ə] in *and;* [ə] in *of*	[æ] in *and;* [ɔ] in *of*	[ə] in *and;* [ə] in *of*	[ə] in *and;* [ɔ] in *of*	[æ] in *and;* [ɔ] in *of*	[æ] in *and;* [ɔ] in *of*
STRUT	[ɑ] in *sun*	[ɑ] in *sun*	[ɑ] in *sun*	[ɑ] in *sun, but*	[ʌ] in *sun*	[ʌ] in *sun*	[ʌ] in *sun;* [ɑ] in *other*	[ʌ] in *sun;* [ɑ] in *other*
NORTH	[ɔr] in *warm,more*	[ɔr] in *warm, more*	[ɔ] in *north, warm, more*	[ɔ] in *north, warm, more*	[ɔ:] in *north, warm, more*	[ɔ] in *north, warm, more*	[o] in *warm, more*	[o] in *warm, more*
GOAT	[o] in *cloak*	[o] in *cloak*	[o] in *cloak*	[o] in *cloak*	[ou] in *cloak*	[o] in *cloak*	[ɒ] in *cloak, fold*	[ɒ] in *cloak, fold*
Voiceless Stops	[ɡ] in *came, considered, could,*	[g] in *considered, could*	Deletion of /t/ in *last;* deletion of /t/ in *wind*	Deletion of /k/ in *take;* Deletion of /t/ in *wrapped,*	Deletion of /t/ in *agreed;* [t] in *wrapped,*	Deletion of /k/ in *cloak;* [t] in *wrapped,*	Deletion of /d/ in *wind, should, fold;* Deletion of /t/	Deletion of /d/ in *wind, should, fold;* Deletion of /k/

	making and *cloak*; [d] in *took*			*wind*;	*took*; [k] in *came, considered, could* and *cloak*	*took*	in *wrapped*; Deletion of /k/ in *take*;	in *cloak, take*;
Fricatives: /z/ is realised as [s]; /ð/ as [d]; /ɵ/ as [s] or [f]	[s] in *his;* /ð/ is merged with and realised as [d] in *that*	[s] in *his*; [d] in *then*	[s] in *north;* [d] in *that, the, then, they*	[d] in *that, the, then, they*	[ð] in *the, then, that*; [ɵ] in *north*;	[ð] in *the*; [ɵ] in *north;* [s] in *his*	[d] in *the, then, they, than, other, that*; [f] in *north*; [s] in *his*	[d] in *the, then, they, than, other, that*; [f] in *north*; [s] in *his*
Approximant: /ɾ/ and /l/ conflation	/ɾ/ in *warm, more, around*	/ɾ/ in *warm, more, around*	/ɾ/ in *around*	/ɾ/ in *around*	/ɾ/ in *around*	/ɾ/ in *around*	/ɾ/ and /l/ conflation, e.g., [l] in *around, agreed*	/ɾ/ and /l/ conflation, e.g., [l] in *around, agreed*

The term, Philippine English (hereafter PE) was introduced during the American colonial period (1898-1935), earlier described as Standard Filipino English. It refers to a variety spoken by Filipinos which can be distinguished from a mixed variety of Tagalog and English (Llamzon 1969; Wells 1982: 647; Tayao 2004: 1048).[69] As early as 1969, Llamzon attempted to establish PE as a distinct variety. However, as with many post-colonial varieties, PE continues to be regarded as a new and often deficient variety of English by the general populace (see also McKaughan 1993; Llamzon 1997; Gonzales 1997; Tayao 2004). As a result of its American parentage, the phonology of PE usually possesses some similar features to AmE (Wells 1982: 648; Tayao 2004: 1048). Therefore, PE 2 demonstrated the rhoticity in the words (as showed in Table 4.5). In addition, PE 1 read the text at a relatively fast but hesitant pace, whereas PE 2 made a reading error: /aɪ/ in *obliged* was realised as [ɪ]. Please note that the recording of PE 2 has certain background noise.

As discussed earlier, it may not be possible to give a generalised account of the phonology of China English. However, it is an accepted fact that certain distinctive phonological features commonly exist amongst ME speakers, such as the replacement of /ɵ/ with [s], /ð/ with [d] (see Jiang 1995; Kirkpatrick and Xu 2002; Hung 2005; Xu 2005; Deterding 2006: 179-194; F. Poon 2006; He and Li 2009: 72). Both ME 1 and ME 2 represent these features. However, unlike ME 2, ME 1 had studied in the US and therefore her speech is likely to demonstrate the influence of American English (full details can be seen in Appendix 4). ME 2 was less proficient than ME 1 in the way of changing of verbal morphology, e.g. 'blew' is changed into 'blow'.

The phonological features of HKE have been discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4. Generally speaking, the differentiation between HKbr and HKed is made according to the frequency of occurrence of typical HKE phonological features (see Chapter 2,

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[69] The Government of the Republic of the Philippines eventually succeeded in making the Tagalog-based Filipino the national language (see Tayao 2004: 1048). As Wells (1982: 647) mentioned, over half the Philippine population speak Tagolog, whereas the rest speak a variety of languages, such as Bisayan, Ilokano and Bikolano.

section 2.4). The more features of HKE a variety/speaker exhibits, the more likely they are to be classified as HKbr; the fewer HKE features they possess, the more likely they are to be classified as HKed. Both HKed 1 and HKed 2 are well-educated and they use English as a daily language in their workplaces. They thus only exhibit some HKE phonological features, such as the assignment of full values to weakened vowels, and the production of fully realised and stressed vowels in pronouns and determiners such as *the, that, he.*

Please note that HKbr 1 and HKbr 2 made a reading error: /aɪ/ in *obliged* was realised as [ɪ]. Please note that HKed 2 misread the word 'cloak' as 'coat' without noticing this mistake, whereas HKed 1 did not make this error. In addition, HKed 1 paid particular attention to sentence structure to convey the story in an interesting way, whereas HKed 1, HKbr 1 and HKbr 2 read the text in a monotonous style.

When working with authentic stimuli, it is obviously impossible completely to remove all potential influences resulting from differences in speakers' life courses as mentioned above. For example, HKed 1 is likely to have a better English proficiency than HKed 2 because of her background in terms of work experience and duration of stay in the UK (see Appendix 4). Differences between speakers of one variety are taken into consideration in the discussion of results in Chapter 5.

4.3.2 Creating the stimuli

This section describes how each recording was made and how the resulting stimuli were presented to informants. According to Brown *et al.* (1973), speeding up or slowing down one's voice can lead to a change in people's perceptions of speakers' personalities. It is thus necessary to control the delivery rate of the stimuli. In the present study, great care was taken to minimise the effect of paralinguistic factors such as speaking speed or pitch. Each stimulus was recorded at least three times in order to select the best quality reading and the one closest in terms of rate of speech to the target speed. The speakers were requested to read the text in a natural manner but within a certain time frame. Table 4.6 on the next page outlines the time length of each stimulus.

Table 4.6: The length of stimuli

Stimuli	Original Stimulus Time Length (Before being repeated)
RP 1	42 sec.
RP 2	42 sec.
AmE 1	42 sec.
AmE 2	44 sec.
TynE 1	40 sec.
TynE 2	40 sec.
AusE 1	40 sec.
AusE 2	39 sec.
HKbr 1	46 sec.
HKbr 2	44 sec.
HKed 1	47 sec.
HKed 2	43 sec.
PE 1	39 sec.
PE 2	40 sec.
ME 1	42 sec.
ME 2	47 sec.

The average rate of delivery across the stimuli was 42 seconds, with a range of between 39 and 47 seconds. As Table 4.6 shows, most stimuli fell into the range of between 40 and 45 seconds. The stimuli were randomised when they were played to the informants in order to minimise the potential effect of ordering the presentation of the recordings (Bezooijen and Boves 1986).

Cargile (2002: 188) notes that the amount of time given to informants to carry out evaluations could be an influential factor on their attitudes, so it is important to allow informants enough time to fully develop and write down their evaluations while listening to the stimuli. In the current study, the informants heard each stimulus twice, one directly after the other with a 4-second pause in-between, which gave them time to identify the linguistic characteristics of the accent and to develop their evaluations of it.

Informants were asked to answer questions after listening to each stimulus. Since the informants were divided into small groups (13 informants per group), it was fairly obvious to the researcher when all the informants had completed the questions and were ready to listen to the next recording. Generally, the following schema was used for all 16 stimuli: Stimulus 1 + 4 second pause + Stimulus 1 + around 2 minutes for

answering questions; Stimulus 2 + 4 second pause + Stimulus 2 + around 2 minutes for answering questions; ... Stimulus 16 + 4 second pause + Stimulus 16 + around 2 minutes for answering questions.

The total length of auditory input to the informants was 23 minutes 27 seconds. The overall time of the experiment was about one hour, which includes the time it took for the informants to answer various questions about their personal background. The issue of possible fatigue effects was taken into consideration and was minimised through randomising the stimuli (see section 4.8).

4.4 The selection of informants

The sample of the population chosen for this study consists entirely of local Hong Kong students who were studying at a university in Hong Kong. The first reason for choosing this population was that they belong to the generation that has grown up during a period of dramatic socio-historical transformation culminating with the handover and who have therefore experienced the radical changes in language policy (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3) which Hong Kong has witnessed in recent times. According to Lee and Collins (2006), younger Hongkongers are more tolerant of HKE usages, whereas older generations tend to prefer the prescribed varieties of English. Hence, the choice of relatively young and well educated informants was thought to be likely to lead to eliciting those responses that are the most accepting of HKE within the population of Hong Kong as a whole. This being the case, a study that draws on these young educated subjects might allow us to see whether and to what extent they accept HKE, which is in turn likely to help us predict the future development of this variety.

The informants came from two universities in Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), founded in 1963, which is the second oldest university there,[70] and The City University of Hong Kong (CityU), founded in 1984, which was

[70] The oldest university in Hong Kong is The University of Hong Kong, founded in 1910. Since Hong Kong was a colonial territory for 99 years, it may be easy for the reader to understand why CUHK is

formerly known as the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong and which was granted university status in 1995.

Because CUHK has a longer history than CityU and because students require a much stronger academic record to enter CUHK (see Table 4.7), CUHK is usually believed to be 'better' than CityU. As a result, the data collected from these two universities may be taken to represent students with different academic profiles.

Table 4.7 The Minimum Entrance Requirements of CUHK and CityU

CUHK	CityU
'Applicants shall have obtained in one sitting of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) [71] grade E or above in at least seven subjects including two language subjects (Chinese Language, English Language, French or German)'	'For admission to bachelor's degree programmes, the minimum entrance requirements are grade E or above in two HKALE AL (Hong Kong Advance Level Exam A-level) [72] subjects (or one HKALE AL + two AS subjects), AS Use of English and AS Chinese Language and Culture.'
Note:	The requirements stated here are the basic principles of the full minimum requirements of both universities quoted from the universities' webpages. The full versions can be found on the websites of CUHK and that of CityU.

The informants in the current study were recruited via the researcher's academic contacts in Hong Kong: two PhD students at the CUHK, and one PhD student and one member of academic staff at CityU. All the informants were asked about their personal background, including their name, main subject and year of study, in order to rule out the possibility of using any informants who were specialising in linguistics or any language-related subject. The informants from CUHK were recruited by sending an email to all university student email users through the university email system. In order to avoid biases in terms of ideology or expertise, the email merely stated that 'this is a piece of research about language and it may take you one hour to complete the questionnaire'. The informants from CityU were

believed to be a university which already has a long history.

[71] The HKCEE is normally taken by a student at the end of his/her five-year secondary education: namely, at the end of Form 5. In 2010, 127,162 candidates were entered for the examination (see Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority).

[72] The HKALE is normally taken by a student at the end of his/her two-year sixth-form course. In 2010, 39,772 candidates were entered for the examination (see Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority).

all invited through personal contact. Similarly, they were asked to participate in a study about language and they were told to allow one hour for filling in a questionnaire.

For the actual survey, the informants were divided into four groups of 13 or less as previously noted. This was done so that I would be better able to observe how each informant completed the tasks. Moreover, the small group size ensured that everyone would be able to hear the recordings clearly and complete the questionnaires without too many distractions. Before the informants started to answer the survey, a briefing session informed them of the general procedure for completing the questionnaires. After completion, informants were told in a debriefing session that the purpose of the survey was to investigate people's attitudes towards different English accents. They were also informed that they would have the opportunity to receive the results of the survey or further information about the research if they were interested.[73]

In total, 44 valid questionnaires were returned from the two universities with an equal number of male and female informants. Table 4.8 depicts the distribution of informants.

Table 4.8 The informants who participated in the current study

	CUHK	CityU	In Total
Male	16	6	22
Female	15	7	22
In Total	31	13	44

4.5 The selection of background variables

I will now move to consider the factors that may be influential in attitude construction amongst my Hong Kong informants. Although there are certain social variables that are usually explored as determinants of attitude, such as age, gender and language background, no model or list of such variables has been provided specifically for language attitudes research (Baker 1992: 41). It is therefore

[73] By the time of completing this thesis, none of the informants contacted me with regard to the research.

imperative that attitude studies provide detailed social information about informants when researching language attitudes.

As discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3, among the studies conducted on this subject, only two have investigated whether gender affects Hong Kong informants' evaluations of varieties of English. However, the findings regarding this variable are inconsistent (e.g., Bolton and Kwon 1990; Luk 1998). Studies such as those of Pierson *et al.* (1980), Lai (2007) and S. Poon (2007) included the factor of the medium of instruction; Candler (2001) and S. Poon (2007) operationalised the factor of education/residence abroad, and Candler's research (2001) also considered the factor of familiarity with certain accents to examine the potential determining variables in Hong Kong informants' accent recognitions.[74] The findings of these few studies are generally not sufficient to draw any conclusions about HKE. Thus, the role and influence of many social variable(s) on Hong Kong informants' attitudes are still under-investigated and it was therefore particularly important to collect social information about the sample used in the current study. The variables of age, educational level, nationality and L1 were controlled for. All informants were university students of a roughly similar age, and all identified themselves as local Hong Kong people.[75] Since cross-national marriage is relatively common in Hong Kong, the L1 of the participants themselves as well as that of their parents was specifically asked about in order to rule out significantly high exposure to a particular variety of English spoken by a family member. None of the informants included in this study had a parent who was a native English speaker.

In terms of the variables that were of interest in this study, all informants were requested to provide background information with regard to the following variables:

i) gender

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[74] The reader should bear in mind that, in the current study, the inclusion of these variables was used to investigate their possible effects on informants' evaluations of eight varieties of English rather than on the accent recognition rate.

[75] There were two informants who were not born in Hong Kong. However, one has lived in Hong Kong since the age of two and the other since the age of five. Both of them had been living in Hong Kong for around twenty years.

ii) familiarity with English
   (1) medium of instruction
   (2) education abroad
   (3) overall exposure to English language and specific varieties of English.
iv) cultural identity
v) socio-economic status

I will now discuss these variables one by one.

Familiarity with certain accents was a composite variable examined on the basis of responses to several questions that investigated previous exposure to varieties of English. The first factor taken into consideration was the medium of instruction. In Hong Kong, there is no official regulation requiring university teaching staff to use English or Chinese as the medium of instruction so they can choose either language. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to categorise informants according to which medium of instruction they receive at tertiary level. Thus, the information regarding medium of instruction was collected by specifically asking which language informants were taught in both at primary and middle school. It is important to note that only 114 out of 460 schools use English as the medium of instruction and it is common for a student to be taught by more than one teacher. The current research thus focuses particularly on the variety of English employed by the teachers who taught the module of English language (Questions 6, 8 and 10). If the medium of instruction at the school was English, however, the informants were also asked which variety of English their other teachers used (Question 7, 9 and 11) in order to collect information regarding their previous exposure to different varieties of English. In general, the following questions were asked (see also Appendix 14):

6. In your primary school, what kind of English does/did your English teacher speak?

a) American English
b) British English
c) English with a Hong Kong accent
d) Other, please state_____

7. If English is the medium of instruction (the language that was used to teach all core subjects) in your primary school, what kind of English do/did other teachers in the school speak most often?

a) American English
b) British English
c) English with Hong Kong accent
d) Other, please state_____

8. Between your Form1~ Form5, what kind of English did/does your English teacher speak? [76]

a) American English
b) British English
c) English with Hong Kong accent
d) Other, please state_____

9. If English is the medium of instruction in your F1~F5, what kind of English do/did other teachers speak most often?

a) American English
b) British English
c) English with Hong Kong accent
d) Other, please state_____

10. Between your F6~F7, what kind of English did/does your English teacher speak?

a) American English
b) British English
c) English with Hong Kong accent
d) Other, please state_____

11. If English is the medium of instruction in your F6~F7, what kind of English do/did other teachers speak most often?

a) American English
b) British English
c) English with Hong Kong accent
d) Other, please state_____

As discussed above, RP and AmE are the English models in the Hong Kong classroom. HKE seems inevitably to be used by some local teachers who speak English with a Hong Kong accent (Evans 2002; S. Poon 2007). Even though AusE,

[76] As noted above, Hong Kong students who reach Form 5 (or grade 11 in the UK) have to take a public examination called the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE). It is common to see students changing from a Chinese-medium school to an English-medium school, or vice versa, as a result of their examination results. Usually, the better result a student has, the better chance he or she has of entering an English-medium school. Therefore, the questions related to the medium of instruction used at middle school were further subdivided into questions about the medium of instruction used in Form 1-Form 5, and in Form 6 – Form 7.

TynE, PE and ME were not specifically included in the given choices, 1 out of 44 informants gave the answer 'Australian English' under 'Other'.

Question 12 relates to the variable of familiarity with English through education abroad:

12. Have you been educated abroad (including long-term or short-term courses)? **Yes/ No**
(1) If yes, how old were you when you studied abroad? _____
(2) Which country did you study in? the UK/ the US/ Australia/ The Philippines / Other_____
(3) How long was the course? _____
(4) What type of course was it exactly? E.g., English course, Form 1.
_____

The third factor that relates to the variable of familiarity is the overall exposure to different varieties of English. This variable was determined by the informants' exposure to English in the contexts of family (Questions 4 and 5), local education (Questions 6-11) and education abroad (Question 12), and personal encounters (Questions 13, 17 and 18, 21 and 22, 25 and 26, 29-32):

4. Your father's native language:
   a) Cantonese
   b) Mandarin (Putonghua)
   c) English
   d) Other Chinese dialects
   e) Other (please state) _____
   i. If his native language is English, where is he originally from?_____
5. Your mother's native language:
   a) Cantonese
   b) Mandarin (Putonghua)
   c) English
   d) Other Chinese dialects
   e) Other (please state) _____
   i. If her native language is English, where is she originally from?_____
13. Have you lived abroad apart from education (including long or short holidays)? Yes / No
   If yes, which country? the UK / the US / Australia / The Philippines / Other_____
   For how long in total? _____
17. How often do you use English with an American English speaker?
   a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all
18. How often do you watch or listen to an American English programme?
   a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all
21. How often do you use English with a British English speaker?
   a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

22. How often do you watch or listen to a British English programme?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all
25. How often do you use English with a Hong Kong English speaker?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all
26. How often do you watch or listen to a Hong Kong English programme?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all
29. How often do you use English with an Australian English speaker?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all
30. How often do you watch or listen to an Australian English programme?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all
31. How often do you use English with a Philippine English speaker?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all
32. How often do you use English with a Mandarin (Putonghua) speaker?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

Informants' exposure to English varieties through television or radio[77] was specified (i.e., Questions 18, 22, 26, 30). In the Outer or Expanding Circles, the media are unquestionably one of the major mechanisms by which people are exposed to different English accents. It is also likely to be a major conduit for a particular variety to spread across countries in a relatively short period. Hence, both Bayard *et al.* (2001) and Hu (2003) suggest that there might be a correlation between favourable responses to American English and the predominance of the American media. My study, therefore, investigates this possibility by asking my informants about their frequency of watching or listening to programmes in AmE, RP, AusE and HKE, which are likely to appear on TV or radio in Hong Kong. PE and ME are extremely rare in, if not absolutely absent from, TV or radio programmes in Hong Kong and were therefore not included in this line of questioning.

Another important variable is the informants' cultural identity. As stated previously (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.2.3 and Chapter 3, section 3.3.3), the awareness of a distinctive local Hong Kong identity is increasing, and this might potentially give HKE an opportunity to serve as a form of linguistic identity for Hong Kong. The intention of the current study was thus to investigate whether the informants' cultural

[77] Please note the way that Questions 18, 22, 26 and 30 are phrased: 'How often do you watch or listen to a...programme?' The Chinese translation of these questions successfully conveys this implication: either a TV or radio programme.

identity contributes to their (dis)preference for either HKbr or HKed. The respondents were asked the following question, taken from Lai (2005):

2. How do you describe your cultural identity?
   a) Chinese
   b) Hongkonger
   c) Hong Kong Chinese
   d) Other

Including this question had the added benefit of allowing me to test the validity of previous claims that a distinctive Hong Kong identity exists.

Since all the informants were university students in Hong Kong, there is no variability between the subjects in their occupations. Indeed, it is also possible that the majority of the informants will belong to a similar social class, the middle or upper class, in the future after their graduation. My informants were thus asked to provide information regarding their parents' educational level, the nature of their occupation (Questions 15 and 16) and the type of family housing (Question 14):[78]

14. What is your housing type (the house which you and your family are currently living in)?
   a) Privately owned flat
   b) Privately rented flat
   c) Public rental flat
   d) Public subsidized sale flat
15. When did your father leave school and start work?
   a) After Form 4
   b) After Form 5/6
   c) After college/university study
   d) After postgraduate study

i. What is your father's occupation? (or his occupation before he retired)
   Please state_____

ii. What is the nature of your father's occupation? Please select
   a) Managers and administrators
   b) Professionals
   c) Associate Professionals
   d) Clerks
   e) Service workers and shop sales workers

[78] I assigned numbers to these housing, educational and occupational categories and generated means from them. Please see Labov's (1966: 170) socio-economic index for the calculation complex.

f) Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
g) Craft and related workers
h) Plant and machine operators and assemblers
i) Elementary occupations
j) Unclassified

16. When did your mother leave school and start work?
a) Form 4 or Before Form 4
b) After Form 5/6
c) After college/university study
d) After postgraduate study

i. What is your mother's occupation? (or her occupation before she retired)
Please state_____

ii. What is the nature of your mother's occupation? Please select
a) Managers and administrators
b) Professionals
c) Associate Professionals
d) Clerks
e) Service workers and shop sales workers
f) Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
g) Craft and related workers
h) Plant and machine operators and assemblers
i) Elementary occupations
j) Unclassified

The choices regarding the nature of occupation were based on the Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong classification. The standard of this classification is 'The International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88)', which is 'adopted by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 1987 and approved by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1988, [and] provides a system for classifying and presenting occupation information which facilitates international comparison' (the Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong).

4.6 The research instrument

This section describes the research instruments in the overall order in which they were used in the questionnaire which consists of three main parts as discussed below.

4.6.1 Part One: the verbal-guise technique

The questionnaire starts with the verbal-guise test. For every guise, informants first rated every stimulus on the 21 personality traits. This was the only task presented in English to the informants as the rest of the questionnaire was entirely in Chinese. Nevertheless, I still translated all 21 adjectives into Chinese and had this translation

with me during each data collection session so that the meaning of any trait could be readily explained, though in actuality this issue never arose. Table 4.9 below shows the questions that are followed by the 21 personality traits.

Table 4.9 Questions following the semantic-differential scale

2. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____
3. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No
4. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?
Least suitable 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most suitable
5. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?
not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much
6. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?
not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

After the questions on personality traits, the informants were asked to answer a variety recognition question (as discussed in more detail below), as well as three questions which aimed to collect informants' responses based on these stimuli. Question 4 introduced a contextual element – radio announcement – for the guises that informants would hear (see section 4.2.1.2), which means they compared the stimulus against the linguistic norm that Hong Kong people prefer rather than merely stating preferences based on their perceptions. Question 5 was intended to explore informants' preference for a variety of English after they heard the stimulus, and 6 was used to determine the extent of their acceptance of a particular variety as being representative of Hong Kong.

4.6.2 Part Two: perceptions of Hong Kong English

The aim of the second part of the questionnaire was to investigate the attitudes of the informants towards HKE by direct means. Six statements were formulated on the basis of previous studies (e.g., Bolton and Kwok 1990; Joseph 1996; Luk 1998; Candler 2001; Pang 2003; S. Poon 2007; see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3), as well as on information gleaned from my pilot interviews (see section 4.2.1.4). These statements were intended to encapsulate the most common sentiments that Hong Kong people tend to express in response to questions about accepting HKE (or not). My questionnaire includes three statements focusing on possible reasons why informants might accept HKE (Statements 1, 4, 5, see Table 4.10), and three which concentrate on reasons for not accepting it (Statements 2, 3, 6). The responses to these statements

can provide further information regarding ideologies concerning HKE and therefore help to identify the most probable explanation for informants' perceptions of HKE.

Table 4.10 Six Statements of the perceptions of HKE

Statement 1	Hong Kong English is acceptable as long as people can communicate properly with it.
strongly disagree	disagree don't know agree strongly agree
	1.....2.....3.....4.....5
Statement 2	As a Hongkonger, I should speak standard English, e.g. British English or American English.
strongly disagree	disagree Don't know agree strongly agree
	1.....2.....3.....4.....5
Statement 3	Hong Kong English may be difficult for non-Hongkongers to understand, so it is not good for communication.
strongly disagree	disagree Don't know agree strongly agree
	1.....2.....3.....4.....5
Statement 4	Hong Kong English originates from the Hong Kong people, so it can give me the feeling of belonging.
strongly disagree	disagree Don't know agree strongly agree
	1.....2.....3.....4.....5
Statement 5	As a Hongkonger, I should speak Hong Kong English.
strongly disagree	disagree Don't know agree strongly agree
	1.....2.....3.....4.....5
Statement 6	I do not feel that I belong to any English-speaking community, because English is not my native tongue.
strongly disagree	disagree Don't know agree strongly agree
	1.....2.....3.....4.....5

These six statements can be grouped into three thematic pairs. Statements 1 and 3 refer to concern about the intelligibility of HKE. Statements 2 and 5 examine to what extent HKE is acceptable for representing the Hong Kong identity. Statements 4 and 6 focus on the informants' sense of ownership of HKE. These six statements were positioned in a randomised order along a 5-point scale,[79] ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'.

Three more questions were positioned in Part Three of the questionnaire (see Appendix 14) in order to explore the informants' preferences for AmE, RP and HKE

[79] Please note that all informants read these statements in the same randomised order, as shown in Table 4.10.

by asking them to state their perceptions. It was hoped that the inclusion of these direct questions would provide contrasting/parallel data to those obtained indirectly via the verbal-guise test. As mentioned previously, RP, but also AmE, are likely to be the most preferred linguistic norms in Hong Kong. The informants were also explicitly asked about their perceptions of HKE, as a new and local variety of English, in terms of how much they like speaking it.

19. To what extent do you prefer to speak American English?
least preferred 1·····2·····3·····4·····5 most preferred
23. How much do you prefer to speak British English?
least preferred 1·····2·····3·····4·····5 most preferred
27. How much do you prefer to speak Hong Kong English?
least preferred 1·····2·····3·····4·····5 most preferred

Informants were also asked to answer a block of open-ended questions, which were designed to explore further the informants' preferences for AmE, RP or HKE in a range of domains:[80]

20. In what situation do you prefer to use American English?
E.g., with friends, at school, online chatting etc._____
24. In what situation do you prefer to use British English?
E.g., with friends, at school, online chatting etc. _____
28. In what situation do you prefer to use Hong Kong English?
E.g., with friends, at school, online chatting etc. _____

These questions were intended to investigate whether Hong Kong informants prefer certain varieties of English according to contextual parameters and if so, which ones. As Bolton points out (2002: 49), especially amongst the younger generation, HKE vocabulary items are frequently used in internet communication and in particular when using online chatting software and when talking with friends. It might therefore be the case that the informants prefer HKE in informal situations, such as internet communication or informal face-to-face interaction. The question provided the informants with some sample answers, e.g., at school, online chatting, with friends, which generally form three categories – formal situations, informal situations and

[80] The concept of domains will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, section 4.4.2.

intimate situations. Hence the informants were guided to provide responses according to the three situations.

I also included three open-ended questions to further investigate the informants' perceptions of HKE:

33. Can you explain what Hong Kong English is?
34. Do you think it is a part of the Hong Kong identity?
35. Can you tell the difference between the broad Hong Kong accent and the educated Hong Kong accent? What is the difference then?

These three questions are placed at the end of the questionnaire and for each question the informants were given the space of four lines to write down their opinions.

4.6.3 Part Three: social-demographic backgrounds of informants

One of the aims of the current study was to examine the possible influence of social variables on the attitudes of informants towards the eight varieties of English. The informants were thus asked to answer questions regarding their social background in relation to gender, familiarity with English (i.e., medium of instruction, education abroad, previous exposure to English), cultural identity and socio-economic status (see discussion in section 4.5).

Additional personal information was also requested in order to control for other potentially confounding factors which I will discuss below. This information helped to ensure that the sample used in the current study consisted solely of students who were studying at a university in Hong Kong and specialising in subjects other than linguistics or language-related subjects, who were born in Hong Kong and who had lived there most of their lives. In fact, all the students had lived in Hong Kong between the ages of 5 and 15 and spoke Cantonese as their first language. Furthermore, the sample had a mean age of 21 (SD = 2.30).

In general, Table 4.11 shows the overall schema of my research instrument.

Table 4.11 Three parts of the research instruments

Part One	16 verbal-guise test (2 guises × 8 varieties of English)	21 personality traits for each variety 2 questions on variety recognition
	1 question × 16	Suitability for the position of radio announcer
	1 question × 16	Informants' preference for a variety of English
	1 question × 16	Informants' assessment of whether HK English can be representative of the Hong Kong identity
Part Two	6 statements	2 statements regarding the intelligibility of HKE
		2 statements concerning the acceptability of HKE as the representative of the Hong Kong identity
		2 statements about the sense of ownership (belonging) of HKE
Part Three	Informants' background information	Questions related to social variables under investigation: gender, familiarity with English (i.e., medium of instruction, education abroad, previous exposure to English), cultural identity and socio-economic status
	3 questions	Preference for RP, AmE or HKE
	3 questions	Preference for RP, AmE or HKE in terms of domains
	3 open-ended questions	Perceptions of HKE

4.7 The Pilot Study

Before the full study was carried out, the questionnaire was first tested in a pilot study, the results of which are detailed below. In general, a pilot study aims to investigate whether a research instrument of the study is likely to function adequately. In other words, a pilot study can increase the reliability of the research instrument and subsequently ensure the practicability of conducting the research and therefore

the validity of the results obtained. For the purposes of the current study, a pilot study was used in order to ensure that:

i) the instructions were clear enough for informants to follow, which is especially pertinent since the verbal-guise technique has rarely been used with the population of Hong Kong;

ii) the questions, especially those using the semantic-differential scale (see section 4.2.1.4), were comprehensible to the informants, since the traits were presented in English;

iii) the time allowed for informants to complete the questionnaire was sufficient, which is especially pertinent since the questionnaire is relatively long.

The pilot study was conducted with three Hong Kong informants, two undergraduate students from the Business School at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) and one research student from the Physics Department at the City University of Hong Kong (CityU). One concern arising from the pilot study involved the medium of instruction at primary school. The vast majority of informants were university students over 20 years old and, inevitably, some might have had difficulty recalling details of their primary education. Furthermore, since the informants still had a low English proficiency when they were at primary school, they may not have been able to recognise which variety of English their teachers used. Given these responses, I added the option 'Other' to this question, in which the participants could put down answers such as 'I don't know' or 'I can't remember'. Another concern that came up during the pilot study was that fatigue might become a problem since around one hour was needed to complete the questionnaire. Since it was not possible to reduce the amount of time in order to collect reliable data, in the actual survey informants were allowed a break of around 1-2 minutes after listening to the first eight recordings (there were 16 recordings in total). However, they were requested to remain seated and not to communicate with each other, in order to ensure that one person's answers were not affected by another's (see Brown 1965; Giles *et al.* 1983; Garrett *et al.* 2003: 30).

The above sections have provided details of the design of the questionnaire used in the current study and of the minor revisions made to the questionnaire after the pilot. The following section contains a description of how the data collection process was administered.

4.8 Procedure: the administration of the research

The current study was conducted in Hong Kong over a one-month period from December 2007 to January 2008. All 16 recordings played to the informants were randomised into two orders (see Table 4.12). The potential effects of ordering the presentation of recordings were thus controlled for or minimised to a certain extent.

Table 4.12 The four groups of informants in the current study

Group	One	Two	Three	Four	Total
Number of informants	11	7	13	13	44
Two randomised orders of stimuli	Order 1	Order 2	Order 2	Order 1	
University*	CUHK	CUHK	CUHK	CityU	
Note:	* CUHK stands for the Chinese University of Hong Kong. CityU stands for the City University of Hong Kong.				

Prior arrangements were made with all the informants to participate in the study through email, by telephone or in person. In this way, the informants had the opportunity to decline to take part. They were not made aware of the objectives of the current study until the data collection process was complete. The entire administrative procedure was conducted in Cantonese, the native language of all informants and of the researcher. All three parts of the research instrument were administered one after the other without intervals in-between. However, as mentioned in section 0, a short break in the middle of the verbal-guise test was included in order to minimise any fatigue effects. In addition, around two minutes were allowed after each recording in order to allow informants to write down their evaluations of the recording according to the 21 traits (see section 4.3.2).

Following the completion of the data collection, the informants were debriefed regarding the purposes of the current study. Around five minutes were allowed in order briefly to introduce the objectives of the study and the research methods used. I also left my contact details and thus informants were also encouraged to ask

questions related to the study or to contact the researcher for further information or for the results of the study.

Having completed the discussion of methodology employed in the current study, the next chapter will outline the data analysis.

Chapter Five

Data Analysis: attitudes towards English varieties

In this chapter I will examine the results generated from the three parts of the questionnaire. First, analyses of the data collected from the verbal-guise test are presented. Then, in order to investigate further the informants' attitudes towards each variety of English, I shall discuss the results based on the informants' perceptions of English varieties. The analyses were carried out using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) Version 14.0.[81]

5.1 The general rating for each variety of English

In this section, the average ratings of the eight varieties by each of the informants are presented. A paired samples *t-test* is used to assess the statistical significance of the difference between the mean ratings of any two varieties of English.[82] Table 5.1 indicates the existence of a significant difference by the lines in bold type: between the average ratings of HKed and TynE ($t = 2.74$, $df = 42$, $p = 0.009$, <0.01), and between the average ratings of PE and HKbr ($t = -3.88$, $df = 41$, $p = 0.00$, <0.01).

AmE is rated highest, followed by RP – the other Inner Circle variety of English; ME and HKed, grouped with other varieties from the Inner Circle, are rated significantly higher than other varieties of English. TynE is a variety with which Hong Kong people are not familiar and, unsurprisingly therefore, it is rated relatively low,

[81] Please note that there is some disagreement about the statistical analysis of attitudinal data. The self-report scales used in the verbal-guise test represent the respondents' subjective feelings and thus should be regarded as ordinal (Steven 1946: 679, Field 2009: 8). However, many scientists and researchers treat them as continuous variables (Field 2009).

[82] Generally speaking, there are two types of t-test: An independent sample t-test is employed when there are two or more experimental conditions and different groups of informants are measured for each condition; a paired-samples t-test is employed when there are two or more experimental conditions but the same group of informants is measured under different conditions. As the current study involved the same group of informants, a paired-samples t-test was thus used.

coming sixth in the ranking, followed by PE. HKbr is given a significantly low evaluation among all eight varieties, being rated the lowest after PE.

Table 5.1 Average ratings of 8 varieties of English on all traits

Ranking	Variety of English[83]	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	AmE	3.51	.35
2	RP	3.45	.42
3	AusE	3.34	.36
4	ME	3.32	.30
5	HKed	3.30	.34 (p=.009, <.01)
6	TynE	3.12	.37
7	PE	2.99	.38(p=.00, <.01)
8	HKbr	2.73	.32

These rankings reveal that varieties from the Inner Circle, namely, AmE, RP and AusE, were rated more highly by comparison with others. Although TynE is also a variety from the Inner Circle, informants still distinguished it from the other three Inner Circle types by giving it a lower rating, probably because they did not recognise it as being an such and therefore gave it intermediate values.[84] It is important to note that the two local varieties of HKE received significantly different evaluations, and that HKed is grouped into the same category as the Inner Circle varieties (meaning that the overall ratings of HKed and the Inner Circle varieties is not significantly different). Like HKed, ME is also rated relatively positively since it comes immediately after the three Inner Circle varieties in preference terms. These results show that my informants exhibited positive attitudes towards these two varieties at least to some degree. Indeed, as already noted, the informants' most negative attitudes are towards HKbr, which comes at the bottom of the rankings, below even PE, which is a variety of English associated with blue-collar guest workers. These findings provide a general ranking pattern of accents which will appear more relevant as the discussion progresses.

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[83] For the code for each accent, see Chapter 3, section 3.3.1.

[84] Although some informants recognised TynE to be a variety from the UK (see Chapter 5, section 5.2), none of them identified it correctly, which means that they did not really know the regional and ideological context of the variety and its speakers. As stated in Chapter 3, non-standard varieties of English are often rated lower than standard varieties in terms of status by native English speakers. The data shown in Table 5.7 reveal that even non-native speakers – the Hong Kong informants – can share this view.

Table 5.2 illustrates the ratings and rankings of all 16 speakers in more detail. As mentioned in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1, two speakers were used for each English accent to test for attitudinal consistency within the same variety. A more detailed examination of the ratings reveals that the mean scores for each speaker of the Inner Circle varieties, i.e., AmE1 and AmE2 (in **bold**), RP1 and RP2 (in ***bold and italic***), AusE1 and AusE2 (in *italic*), are comparatively high. This finding confirms the informants' positive attitudes towards Inner Circle Englishes.

Table 5.2 The average ratings of the 16 speakers on all traits

Ranking	Variety of English	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	**AmE 2**	**3.77**	**.51**
2	***RP 2***	***3.69***	***.49***
3	*AusE 2*	*3.48*	*.38*
4	ME 1	3.43	.43
5	HKed 1	3.42	.48
6	TynE 1	3.28	.42
7	**AmE 1**	**3.25**	**.43**
8	ME 2	3.22	.47
9	*AusE 1*	*3.20*	*.54*
10	***RP 1***	***3.20***	***.56***
11	HKed 2	3.18	.45
12	PE 2	2.98	.41
13	PE 1	2.97	.46
14	TynE 2	2.96	.46
15	HKbr 2	2.78	.44
16	HKbr 1	2.69	.41

The HKed guises (in light shadow) are ranked fifth and eleventh. By contrast, the two broad Hong Kong accents (in dark shadow) are rated lowest of all: HKbr 2 is fifteenth and HKbr 1 is sixteenth. The overall difference in rating between the Hong Kong guises is most likely to be related to a number of phonological features of HKE exhibited in these (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1). HKbr1 contains more local features than HKbr2 than HKed 2 and HKed 1 do.

Interestingly, ME was accorded a relatively high ranking: fourth place for ME 1 and eighth for ME 2. In other words, the informants seem to have had consistently positive attitudes towards ME (if we take the 8th rank as the rating median). Finally, as I pointed out previously, given the socio-economic circumstances of many Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong, it is not surprising to see the two PE speakers ranked quite low.

The different evaluations of speakers of AmE and RP accents are likely to also be associated with the paralinguistic features that different speakers demonstrated. As mentioned in Chapter 4, section 4.3, AmE 2 and RP 2 had a professional style of reading with wide tessitura, while AmE 1 and RP 1 had a monotonous reading style to which informants might also be responding.

I will now move on to discuss how these results are categorised according to status and solidarity traits based on Principal Components Analysis.

5.2 Principal Components Analysis

Since there were 44 informants making evaluations of 16 speakers for 21 personality traits (such as 'friendly', 'sociable', 'successful'), the questionnaire produced 704 responses for each of the 21 traits. It was necessary to reduce the amount of data collected from the verbal-guise technique into a more manageable size for the purpose of a more specific analysis. I therefore used the Principal Components Analysis (PCA, or factor analysis, Field 2005: 619), which is a method employed to identify groups or clusters of variables. All the evaluations of the 16 speakers for each of the 21 traits on the semantic-differential scale were tabulated to produce 21 average scores, one for each trait, and subsequently subjected to PCA tests.[85]

Further tests were performed to assess the suitability of PCA for investigating the data obtained for this study. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was used to assess the suitability of the sample size before performing the PCA.

Table 5.3 KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.944
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	6990.280
	df	210
	Sig.	.000

[85] Tabachnick and Fidell (2001: 640) point out that, ideally, factor analysis requires at least 300 cases, which confirms what Comrey and Lee (1992) suggest in this regard. Since my data consisted of 704 cases, there were enough cases to conduct factor analyses.

The KMO value obtained for my data is .944 (see Table 5.3), which makes them highly appropriate for PCA (it is usually considered that KMO values between 0.5 and 0.7 are mediocre, between 0.7 and 0.8 are good, between 0.8 and 0.9 are great and above 0.9 are superb, see Field 2005: 648). I also ran Bartlett's Test (see Table 5.3), which is used to measure any significant relationships between variables. The absence of significant relationships indicated that there was no need to conduct a factor analysis. If the results of Bartlett's Test are significant, however, this means that there are significant relationships between variables and that PCA is an appropriate test to determine which variables are significantly associated with one another. In my data, the outcome for Bartlett's Test was less than .05 (p=.000).

The outcome of the PCA is shown in Table 5.4, which reveals that the first few components (especially factors 1, 2 and 3) explain relatively large amounts of the variance, whereas subsequent components explain only small amounts.[86] Component 1 explains 40.389 per cent, component 2 explains 10.286 per cent and component 3 accounts for 5.747 per cent. Figure 5.1 displays the results in a scree plot with a thunderbolt indicating the point of inflexion on the curve. Note that the curve begins to decrease gradually after the third component, which is consistent with the fact that components 1, 2 and 3 together can account for over 56% of variance.

[86] Table 5.4 lists the eigen values associated with each linear component before extraction, after extraction and after rotation. Before extraction, SPSS identified 21 linear components. Then SPSS extracts all factors with eigen values greater than 1, which leaves us with three components. After rotation, the component structure is optimised and the relative importance of the three components is equalised (Field 2005: 653).

Table 5.4 Total variance explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	8.482	40.389	40.389	8.482	40.389	40.389	4.833	23.013	23.013
2	2.160	10.286	50.675	2.160	10.286	50.675	4.055	19.308	42.322
3	1.207	5.747	56.422	1.207	5.747	56.422	2.961	14.101	56.422
4	.891	4.245	60.667						
5	.733	3.488	64.155						
6	.705	3.357	67.512						
7	.673	3.205	70.717						
8	.624	2.970	73.687						
9	.612	2.916	76.603						
10	.589	2.804	79.407						
11	.518	2.465	81.871						
12	.484	2.304	84.175						
13	.476	2.265	86.440						
14	.441	2.098	88.538						
15	.416	1.980	90.519						
16	.391	1.860	92.379						
17	.367	1.750	94.129						
18	.346	1.649	95.777						
19	.317	1.511	97.289						
20	.293	1.393	98.682						
21	.277	1.318	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

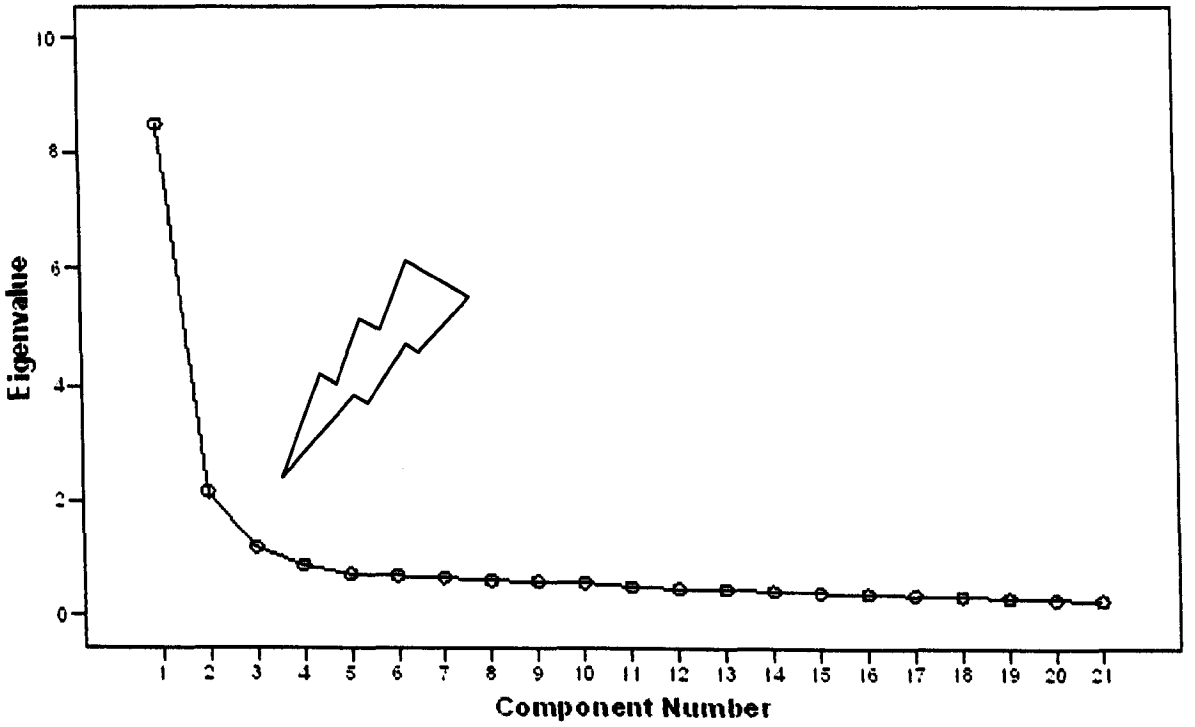

Figure 5.1 Scree Plot

I shall now examine the traits that these components comprise. The rotated component matrix (Table 5.5) is a way of easily identifying each variable with a single factor and thus each factor will tend to have either large or small loadings of any particular variable. These loadings of a variable decide which factor this variable should belong to. The cut-off point of the loadings is usually arbitrary and I thus followed Stevens' (1992: 382) suggestion and set the cut-off point at 0.4 for the

current study. In order to make the output more understandable and facilitate the interpretation of factors, I show the rotated matrix in Table 5.5, which demonstrates that the vast majority of the variables can be loaded onto one of three components. 'Educated', 'intelligent', 'successful', 'wealthy', 'modern', 'sociable', 'creative', 'competent' and 'elegant' are loaded onto Component 1; 'warm', 'friendly', 'humble', 'kind', 'pleasant', 'helpful', 'considerate' and 'generous' are loaded onto Component 2 and, finally, 'honest', 'hard-working', 'reliable' and 'sincere' are loaded onto Component 3.

Table 5.5 Rotated Component Matrix(a)

	Component		
	1	2	3
educated	.79		
intelligent	.76		
successful	.73		
wealthy	.70		
modern	.66		
sociable	.63	.47	
creative	.59	.43	
competent	.58		
elegant	.52		
warm		.76	
friendly		.74	
humble		.69	
kind		.68	.41
pleasant		.62	
helpful		.54	.52
considerate		.50	.48
generous		.42	
honest			.72
hard-working			.70
reliable	.42		.61
sincere		.41	.58

Extraction Method: PCA.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

The majority of traits (seven out of nine) in Component 1 are related to social status (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.4) with the exception of 'sociable' and 'creative'. This is an interesting finding since 'sociable' and 'creative' have conventionally been

categorised into the dimension of solidarity (e.g., Hiraga 2005; McKenzie 2006; Cavallaro and Chin 2009) and they are also relatively strongly loaded onto Component 2 with values of 0.47 and 0.43 respectively.[87] However, given the preponderance of ratings obtained from the PCA, I have chosen to group these traits into Component 1 (which we might label 'status'). This result may indicate that the traits which have been perceived as solidarity traits by informants in studies conducted in the West might be understood differently by Hong Kong informants. It should be borne in mind, therefore, that 'sociable' and 'creative' appear to be interpreted from a social status perspective by Hong Kong informants.[88] These findings suggest that to categorise traits as having either status or solidarity overtones across socially and culturally diverse settings may be problematic (as discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.4).

All the traits in Components 2 and 3 are generally associated within the solidarity dimension. Although a separate label, such as 'social attractiveness' or 'personal attractiveness' (e.g., Ewards 1999: 102; Giles and Coupland 1991: 34; Lindemann 2003; Garrett *et al.* 2003), might be attached to Component 3, it is still the case that many traits overlapped considerably in terms of loadings and social connotations across Components 2 and 3, such as 'kind', 'helpful', 'considerate' and 'sincere'. Therefore, I decide to group the traits in Components 2 and 3 into one component, which I shall henceforth label 'solidarity'.

Given the overlap between Components 2 and 3, the results of the PCA are thus simplified into two components – 'status' and 'solidarity', as shown in Table 5.6. The above results do reveal that the traits grouped here under 'status' can be clearly separated from other traits and that the remainder of the traits largely overlap with one another. Hence, the PCA analysis supports the use of 'status' and 'solidarity' as separate and distinct components (see Table 5.6) for the examination of the specific evaluations of Hong Kong informants in the subsequent data analysis.

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[87] The fact that some variables are loaded onto two components indicates that these variables are likely to be explained by either component. This is why we set the cut-off point of factor loadings to decide which component a particular variable should belong to.

[88] Please note that it would be worth verifying this by conducting further research.

Table 5.6 Status and solidarity traits

Status	educated, intelligent, successful, wealthy, competent, elegant, modern, sociable, creative
Solidarity	warm, friendly, humble, kind, pleasant, helpful, considerate, generous, honest, hard-working, reliable, sincere

The limited amount of attitude research conducted previously in Hong Kong has not attempted to determine whether the selected traits reflect characteristics of these two dimensions – status and solidarity (see Chapter 3, section 3.3). From the PCA conducted in the current study it was found that two relatively salient dimensions, with a small amount of overlap, do exist in the context of Hong Kong. Although it has to be stated that the PCA did not reveal two separate components in the data, the results still succeeded in addressing the question of whether the traits selected for the current study generally reflect a range of characteristics that fall into coherent and clearly differentiated dimensions, which are here termed social status and solidarity. The results described above provide useful information for further research on Hong Kong and indeed on the Chinese community worldwide.

5.3 Status vs. Solidarity

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are two principal categories of personality traits under investigation - solidarity and social status, which have already been partially investigated above. In this section, I shall examine the informants' attitudes towards each variety of English from the perspective of these two categories. The discussion of the 'status rating' presents the evaluations of traits which are categorised under the 'status' dimension. The evaluations of those traits which are classified as falling into the 'solidarity' dimension are averaged and presented as a 'solidarity rating'.

5.3.1 The status rating for each variety of English

The status rating of each variety of English is generated from the ratings on the following traits, which are identified by means of the PCA: 'educated', 'intelligent', 'successful', 'wealthy', 'competent', 'elegant', 'modern', 'sociable' and 'creative'.

Using the paired-samples t-test, three significant breaks in the status ratings of the eight varieties of English were found (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 Status rating of 8 varieties

Ranking	Variety of English	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	AmE	3.59	0.41
2	RP	3.50	0.43
3	AusE	3.46	0.39 (p=.043, <.05)
4	ME	3.29	0.33
5	HKed	3.20	0.40
6	TynE	3.14	0.39 (p=.001, <.01)
7	PE	2.84	0.44 (p=.000, <.01)
8	HKbr	2.46	0.41

The Inner Circle varieties, AmE, RP and AusE, are rated similarly. Significantly different from these high status varieties ($t=2.09$, $df=42$, $p<.05$), ME and HKed are rated similarly (with the unknown TynE added to this group). PE is rated significantly lower ($t=-3.54$, $df=42$, $p<.01$), and finally HKbr ($t=-5.24$, $df=42$, $p<.01$) trails at the bottom of the ratings.

I shall now attempt to explain these findings. The overall high ranking of standard Inner Circle varieties needs less explanation given the congruence of my findings with those of previous studies (e.g., Giles 1970; Hiraga 2005; McKenzie 2008; Hu and Li 2009). ME and HKed are ranked in the middle (see Table 5.7). As mentioned in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.1), speakers of ME are usually highly skilled immigrants who work as professionals or in professional-related positions. These speakers can be categorised into a social class which enjoys a relatively high status. As a consequence, Hong Kong informants might have more positive attitudes towards ME than other varieties of HKE in terms of the status of its speakers. Since HKed has fewer local features but is relatively close to RP, as discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.4), it is not surprising that it is rated just below ME. TynE seems to be a variety that the informants are uncertain about since it is grouped in the middle with ME and HKed. As also discussed in Chapter 4, Filipinos are the second largest ethnic population group in Hong Kong and the majority of them work as domestic workers. In other words, the Filipino ethnic group has a relatively low social status in Hong Kong because of their social function in this society. The low score for this PE variety in terms of status traits is thus not unexpected since this low status seems to be attached to the variety of English spoken by this ethnic group. But why do these

Hong Kong speakers rate an indigenous accent, HKbr, even lower in terms of status? This result may be related to a concept that Labov (2006: 329) used to explain the attitudes of New Yorkers towards the New York City accent: 'linguistic self-hatred'. Most New Yorkers dislike New York City speech, even if they are speakers of the variety themselves, because of pressure from above (i.e., conformity with middle class speech norms). The same socio-psychological explanation seems to hold in Hong Kong with respect to HKbr (see further discussion in Chapter 6).

Table 5.8 shows the status ratings of the 16 speakers in detail. The highest three ratings are again of the three Inner Circle varieties, i.e. AmE 2, RP 2 and AusE 2. The other speakers of Inner Circle varieties, namely AmE 1, RP 1 and AusE 1, also obtained comparably high scores. As above, HKbr 1 and HKbr 2 are ranked at the bottom, with even PE 1 and PE 2 being rated above them.

Table 5.8 Status rating of 16 speakers

Ranking	Variety of English	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	**AmE 2**	**3.86**	**.54**
2	***RP 2***	***3.77***	***.56***
3	*AusE 2*	*3.62*	*.43*
4	ME 1	3.50	.67
5	**AmE 1**	**3.34**	**.55**
6	TynE 1	3.33	.42
7	*AusE 1*	*3.29*	*.49*
8	HKed 1	3.28	.62
9	***RP 1***	***3.23***	***.59***
10	HKed 2	3.13	.42
11	ME 2	3.10	.53
12	TynE 2	2.94	.54
13	PE 1	2.88	.59
14	PE 2	2.78	.48
15	HKbr 2	2.47	.57
16	HKbr 1	2.45	.48

It is significant that none of the Hong Kong accents is accorded a high rank in terms of status (this is in stark contrast with the solidarity ranking I will discuss below). The ranking for the four speakers of HKE is likely to be related to the speakers' accentedness. In addition, although HKed 2, HKbr 1 and HKbr 2 made reading errors (e.g. HKed 2 misread 'cloak' as 'coat', HKbr 1 and HKbr 2 realised /aɪ/ in *obliged* as [ɪ], see also Chapter 4, section 4.3.1), HKed 1 – who did not make any errors but showed linguistic features close to RP – was still not rated highly.

Importantly, a paired-samples t-test shows that there is a significant attitudinal difference (t= 3.03, p<.01) between ME 1 and ME 2. ME 1 is ranked fourth, in the first half of the ranking, whereas ME 2 is rated eleventh, falling into the lower part of the ranking. This is probably a reflection of the speakers' background. As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.1), ME 1 exhibits some phonological characteristics of AmE. In fact, a number of informants misidentified ME 1 as being from the Inner Circle, i.e., the US or UK (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2). The relatively high rating of ME 1 is thus consistent with the positive evaluations of Inner Circle varieties in terms of status. In addition, ME 2 misread 'blew' as 'blow', which lead to non-standard grammar and such misreading might have affected the evaluation of informants on this speaker.

In the next section I will discuss the ranking of accents from the point of view of the solidarity dimension, with the aim of determining whether or not HKbr is consistently the variety least favoured by the Hong Kong informants.

5.3.2 The solidarity rating for each variety of English

The solidarity rating for each variety of English was generated from the PCA ratings: 'warm', 'friendly', 'humble', 'kind', 'pleasant', 'helpful', 'considerate', 'generous', 'honest', 'hard-working', 'reliable' and 'sincere'.

Using a paired-samples t-test for the solidarity ratings of the eight varieties of English, two significant differences were found in the ranking (represented as above by a line in bold type in Table 5.9): the three varieties of Inner Circle English, along with HKed and ME, are in one group (t=2.10, df=42, p<.05); TynE and PE form the second group (t=-2.24, df=42. p<.05); HKbr is again rated significantly lower than all other varieties.

Table 5.9 Solidarity rating of 8 varieties

Ranking	Variety of English	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	AmE	3.45	.39
2	RP	3.41	.46
3	HKed	3.37	.35
4	ME	3.34	.34
5	AusE	3.25	.40 (p=.04, <.05)
6	TynE	3.11	.44
7	PE	3.10	.41 (p=.03, <.05)
8	HKbr	2.94	.34

Importantly, this time, HKed is upgraded into third place in the ranking, followed by ME in fourth place. It is also significant that HKed and ME are rated even higher than AusE, a variety from the Inner Circle. As discussed earlier, previous research (e.g., Giles 1970; Ladegaard 1998; McKenzie 2008) has shown that informants tend to have more positive attitudes in terms of solidarity towards varieties of English used in their immediate environment. Hence, it should come as no surprise that HKed receives relatively higher solidarity ratings than status ratings.

Indeed, it is noteworthy that my informants displayed more positive attitudes towards HKed than towards ME in terms of solidarity. To some extent, this confirms the fact that Hong Kong inhabitants feel a sense of ownership of one of their local varieties of English, namely, HKed. As discussed previously, Hong Kong is in the process of constructing its own identity and Hong Kong people prefer to address themselves as 'Hongkongers' in order to be differentiated from mainland Chinese. From this perspective, it is not surprising to see that the informants give themselves a unique linguistic identity and feel 'closer' to HKed than to ME.

However, the feeling of solidarity does not extend to HKbr. The broad local variety, as well as TynE and PE, retain the same low places they had in the status ranking (See Table 5.7). Indeed, HKbr inspires fewer sentiments of solidarity than the variety associated with guest workers, PE.

Next, I will discuss the solidarity ratings of all 16 speakers shown in Table 5.10.[89]

[89] There is a significant difference in the ratings between TynE 1 and TynE 2 ($t=3.64$, $p=0.001<0.01$). TynE 1, rated seventh, was rated more positively than TynE 2, ranked nearly at the bottom. This significant difference may be a result of Hong Kong informants' unfamiliarity with and uncertainty about TynE (see Chapter 5, section 5.2).

Table 5.10 Solidarity rating for 16 speakers

Ranking	Variety of English	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	**AmE 2**	**3.71**	**0.61**
2	***RP 2***	***3.63***	***0.54***
3	HKed 1	3.52	0.50
4	*AusE 2*	*3.38*	*0.45*
5	ME 1	3.38	0.46
6	ME 2	3.30	0.49
7	TynE 1	3.25	0.52
8	HKed 2	3.22	0.51
9	**AmE 1**	**3.19**	**0.46**
10	***RP 1***	***3.17***	***0.60***
11	PE 2	3.13	0.46
12	*AusE 1*	*3.13*	*0.59*
13	PE 1	3.06	0.51
14	HKbr 2	3.02	0.43
15	TynE 2	2.98	0.51
16	HKbr 1	2.87	0.48

It is noteworthy that HKed 1 is ranked very highly, just after AmE 2 and RP 2, which are Inner Circle varieties (Bolton and Kwok 1990; Candler 2001; McKenzie 2006). HKed 2 is also rated comparatively highly, falling into the first half of the ranking. HKbr 2 is accorded fourteenth place in the ranking. However, HKbr 1 is again ranked lowest. Another interesting result is the ranking of the two ME speakers, who are both rated quite highly, ME 1 coming fifth and ME 2 sixth, despite the fact that ME 2 made a reading error (shown in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1). Although, on average, Hong Kong informants hold more positive attitudes towards HKed than towards ME, splitting up the accents into individual speakers shows that the two ME speakers (ME 1 and ME 2) are rated more highly than three other speakers of Hong Kong varieties (HKed 2, HKbr 2 and HKbr 1). The more differentiated picture displayed in Table 5.10 seems to indicate that the conclusions reached above are too simplistic. Indeed, on this basis of the consolidated evidence it seems that, although the Hong Kong informants on average feel closer to HKed than to ME, they also show a certain degree of solidarity towards ME; Certainly, they seem more prepared to accept ME than HKbr. Please note that AmE 2 and RP 2 were rated more highly again than AmE 1 and RP 1, which confirms the assumption that listerners were responding to the paralinguistic features that the former two speakers demonstrated in their professional reading style (see also section 5.1).

In the above sections, the results obtained from the point of view of the dimensions of status and solidarity have been presented and discussed. The overall attitudinal patterns are confirmed by further examination according to these two dimensions. High prestige varieties of English from the Inner Circle are also rated as such by the Hong Kong informants. HKed and ME score in the middle of the ranking, and HKbr is always at the bottom, even after PE. In other words, Hong Kong people have considerably more positive attitudes towards HKed than towards HKbr. In general, as can be seen from the correlation between the accentedness of the speakers and their rankings, it seems that the more 'Hong Kong' the speaker sounds, the more negatively (s)he will be judged.

The attitudinal pattern found in the current study contradicts findings of previous studies involving native speakers of English from the Inner Circle (Garrett *et al.* 2003) as well as non-native speakers from the Expanding Circle (McKenzie 2008). McKenzie (2008) conducted a study of language attitudes towards moderately-accented Japanese English and heavily-accented Japanese English in Japan – an East Asian country classified as part of the Expanding Circle. He noted that, in terms of status, the heavily-accented Japanese English was rated lowest, whereas the moderately-accented variety was rated immediately below Inner Circle accents (McKenzie 2008). However, the heavily-accented Japanese English type was evaluated highest in terms of solidarity, whereas the moderately-accented version was rated less favourably in this dimension. In other words, the degree of accentedness positively affects people's attitudes in solidarity ratings. The more local the accent of the speaker sounds, the higher he/she will be rated in terms of solidarity. McKenzie's (2008) result echoed the findings of Garrett *et al.* (2003) for English varieties in Wales. In contrast, the findings of the present study dovetail with those of S. Poon (2007). In an investigation of Hong Kong informants' attitudes, S. Poon also discovered an attitudinal pattern different from that which is normally suggested as universal, i.e., the 'standard accent generally scores high on status and low on solidarity attributes, and vice versa for the regional accents' (S. Poon 2007: 54). Her findings were that standard varieties scored high on both status and solidarity. The local varieties, HKed and HKbr, were rated lower than these standard varieties even on solidarity traits (see also Chapter 6).

Nevertheless, it is possible that the results obtained from the present study are biased in some way. For example, given the fact that the informants are undergraduates and thus form part of the educated elite of the society, they are more likely to perceive a higher degree of solidarity with HKed than with HKbr.[90] The factors which potentially influence informants' evaluations will be investigated in Chapter 5. I will now discuss the results obtained from questions other than the verbal-guise test in order to show informants' attitudes towards varieties of English from a different perspective.

5.4 The choice of norm, preference for a variety and the choice of a linguistic symbol for Hong Kong

This section discusses the results generated from three questions from the questionnaire which focused on the following issues: the choice of norm (Question 4), preference for a variety of English (Question 5) and the choice of a language variety to represent the Hong Kong identity (Question 6). As a reminder to the reader, these questions were asked after every guise which the informants listened to. They are:

4. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?
least suitable 1·····2·····3·····4·····5 most suitable
5. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?
not at all 1·····2·····3·····4·····5 very much
6. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?
not at all 1·····2·····3·····4·····5 very much

5.4.1 The choice of norm

This section presents the results obtained from a question about suitability for the position of radio announcer. As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.2, the aim of this question was to examine the degree of informants' acceptance of 'standard' and 'non-standard' varieties of English in Hong Kong society without asking them

[90] Note that this does not contradict the theory of linguistic self-hatred since standard varieties are perceived higher than HKed in terms of solidarity.

explicitly about the issue of standardness. The position of radio announcer also potentially refers to criteria of solidarity, as an announcer is usually a linguistic representative of the local community. Thus the results derived from this question can be used to confirm respondents' ratings in the verbal-guise test.

The informants rated the suitability of speakers of the different varieties of English on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 indicating 'least suitable' and 5 indicating 'most suitable'. Table 5.11 shows the average ratings for the eight varieties of English. Again, a paired-samples t-test was conducted to assess the statistical significance of the difference between the means. As above, the bold line indicates where a significant difference divides the eight varieties into four levels: three varieties of English from the Inner Circle are grouped into the same level ($t=4.28$, $df=43$, $p<0.01$); ME, TynE and HKed are rated more or less the same and form one group ($t=4.19$, $df=43$, $p<0.01$); PE is rated significantly lower than other varieties, but HKbr is rated even lower than PE ($t=-3.62$, $df=43$, $p<0.01$).

Table 5.11 Average ratings of 8 varieties of English for the question: 'How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?'

Ranking	Variety of English	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	AusE	3.39	.68
2	RP	3.36	.87
3	AmE	3.35	.99 (p=.00, <.01)
4	ME	2.80	.50
5	TynE	2.55	.73
6	HKed	2.47	.81 (p=.00, <.01)
7	PE	1.97	.82 (p=.00, <.01)
8	HKbr	1.56	.73

In general, the results concerning suitability for the position of radio announcer show a similar pattern to that found in the verbal-guise test (see Table 5.1, section 5.1). HKed scores higher than HKbr, which is always rated at the bottom of every ranking, and the Inner Circle varieties of English tend to receive higher ratings than other varieties.

The following Table 5.12 presents in detail the results obtained for all 16 speakers on the question of suitability for the position of radio announcer. Even when divided by speaker types, the results are similar to those obtained from the verbal-guise test (see Table 5.2, section 5.1). All the speakers of English varieties belonging to the Inner

Circle receive comparatively high ratings. Noticeably, neither of the AusE speakers – AusE 1 and AusE 2 – comes first. However, since both AusE 1 and AusE 2 are rated equally highly, the mean score for AusE thus becomes the highest. The fact that AusE appears in the first rank in Table 5.11 is thus partly owing to the effect of calculation. Although RP 2 and AmE 2 are evaluated first and second, the mean scores for RP and AmE are lowered owing to the averaging effect of the scores obtained for RP 1 and AmE 1.

Table 5.12 The ratings of the 16 speakers for the question: 'How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

Ranking	Speaker	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	***RP 2***	***3.82***	***1.25***
2	**AmE 2**	**3.77**	**.99**
3	*AusE 2*	*3.61*	*1.01*
4	*AusE 1*	*3.16*	*.88*
5	ME 1	3.07	1.17
6	**AmE 1**	**2.93**	**1.16**
7	***RP 1***	***2.91***	***.76***
8	TynE 1	2.82	.85
9	HKed 1	2.64	.99
10	ME 2	2.52	.89
11	HKed 2	2.30	1.05
12	TynE 2	2.27	.88
13	PE 1	2.02	.79
14	PE 2	1.91	1.02
15	HKbr 1	1.59	1.00
16	HKbr 2	1.52	1.19

The two speakers of HKbr are ranked lowest, even lower than the two speakers of PE. Although the two speakers of HKed are not rated lowest, they do not receive high ratings either. HKed 1 is rated ninth and HKed 2 eleventh, both falling into the lower part of the ranking (i.e., ninth and below). Again, noticeably different results were obtained for the two speakers of ME. ME 1 is rated in fifth place, which belongs to the first half of the ranking, whereas ME 2 is ranked tenth, falling into the lower half of the ranking. This difference is also consistent with the different results for ME 1 and ME 2 obtained from the verbal-guise test (see sections 5.1). As discussed previously, the differences between the two speakers of ME, especially the phonological features they represented, seem to have resulted in significantly different ratings of ME 1 and ME 2.

A separate bivariate analysis[91] was conducted to provide further validation of this attitudinal pattern, correlating the average ratings of varieties collected through the verbal-guise test (see Table 5.1) and the average ratings of corresponding varieties for the question of suitability for the position of radio announcer (see Table 5.11). The results obtained from the bivariate analysis indicate significant positive correlations between these two kinds of rating for all varieties.[92] In other words, the more positive attitudes the informants had towards a variety of English, the more suitable they perceived a speaker of this variety to be for the position of radio announcer.

In the current study, I did not ask the informants to rate the proficiency level of each speaker of a particular variety of English, which means that I cannot investigate a potential relationship between the perceived proficiency level of a speaker and attitudes towards this speaker. However, suitability for the position of radio announcer does imply the level of proficiency of a speaker, since an English language radio announcer needs to have a certain level (usually, a high level) of English proficiency. Therefore, the more suitable the informants consider a speaker to be for the position of radio announcer, the higher the level of English proficiency the speaker is thought to have. In other words, the current study indirectly investigates the correlation between the proficiency level of a speaker and the attitudes towards this speaker. On the basis of the bivariate analysis presented above, it appears that there is a significant correlation between the perceived English proficiency level of a speaker and attitudes towards him or her.

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[91] Please see Chapter 5, section 5.1.2 for details of the bivariate analysis. Generally speaking, it is used to assess the relationship between two continuous variables, and a correlation coefficient, called *Pearson's r*, can indicate the direction and the strength of that relationship (Muijs 2004: 142). Usually, ±0.1 represents a weak effect size, ±0.3 is modest, ±0.5 is moderate, ±0.8 is strong, and ≥= ±0.8 indicates a very strong effect size.

[92] RP: a coefficient of $r=0.70$, $p<0.01$; AmE: $r=0.56$, $p<0.01$; AusE: $r=0.64$, $p<0.01$; TynE: $r=0.53$, $p<0.01$; HKed: $r=0.37$, $p<0.05$; HKbr: $r=0.49$, $p<0.01$; PE: $r=0.68$, $p<0.01$; ME: $r=0.32$, $p<0.05$.

5.4.2 Preference for a variety of English

This section details the results obtained from a question designed to investigate preference for a variety of English. After hearing each guise, the informants were asked 'When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?' They stated their preference for a speaker on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 indicating 'not at all' and 5 indicating 'very much'. The average ratings for this question of the eight varieties of English are shown in Table 5.13 below.

Table 5.13 Average ratings of 8 varieties of English for the question: 'When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?'

Ranking	Variety of English	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	RP	3.46	0.91
2	AmE	3.40	0.93
3	AusE	3.36	0.83 (p=.00, <.01)
4	ME	2.67	0.78 (p=.03, <.05)
5	TynE	2.33	0.86
6	HKed	2.31	0.80 (p=.00, <.01)
7	PE	1.85	0.84 (p=.00, <.01)
8	HKbr	1.38	0.70

A paired-samples t-test was conducted to investigate the statistical significance of the difference between the means of two sets of ratings. As above, the presence of a line in bold type on the table indicates that significant differences exist. Unsurprisingly, the three standard varieties of English from the Inner Circle are rated highly. RP is again evaluated most positively, followed by AmE and AusE ($t=3.94$, $df=43$, $p<.01$). ME is rated comparatively highly, coming in fourth place just behind the three Inner Circle varieties ($t=-2.28$, $df=43$, $p<.05$). TynE, a local variety from the Inner Circle, is rated in fifth place, which is relatively low, followed by HKed ($t=4.00$, $df= 43$, $p<.01$). HKbr is again ranked at the bottom. PE is rated negatively, but again less negatively than HKbr ($t=-4.11$, $df=43$, $p<.01$). The results indicate that Inner Circle English, especially the standard Inner Circle varieties of English, are favoured targets of the informants, which confirms the aforementioned fact that the linguistic norm in Hong Kong is principally exonormative.

In Table 5.14, below, the rankings are set out by speaker. The six speakers of the standard varieties of English from the Inner Circle (namely, RP 1 and RP 2, AmE 1

and AmE 2, AusE 1 and AusE 2) are all rated highly. All four HKE speakers fall into the second half of the ranking: HKed 1 and HKed 2 are ranked ninth and tenth; HKbr 1 and HKbr 2 are rated at the bottom, in sixteenth and fifteenth place respectively. The two speakers of PE are also evaluated consistently negatively, in fourteenth and thirteenth places. TynE 1 and TynE 2 are ranked relatively low: eighth and twelfth.

Table 5.14 The ratings of the 16 speakers for the question: 'When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?'

Ranking	Speaker	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	**AmE 2**	**3.80**	**1.23**
2	***RP 2***	***3.68***	***1.09***
3	*AusE 2*	*3.57*	*1.09*
4	***RP 1***	***3.23***	***1.22***
5	*AusE 1*	*3.16*	*1.10*
6	ME 1	3.07	0.97
7	**AmE 1**	**3.00**	**1.20**
8	TynE 1	2.57	1.02
9	HKed 1	2.34	1.01
10	HKed 2	2.27	0.95
11	ME 2	2.27	0.15
12	TynE 2	2.09	0.96
13	PE 2	1.96	0.91
14	PE 1	1.75	1.10
15	HKbr 2	1.43	0.82
16	HKbr 1	1.32	0.67

The results of the current study are generally consistent with the previous findings. For example, S. Poon (2007: 40) revealed that more than 80% of the respondents preferred the two RP speakers, more than 50% preferred the two AmE speakers, an average of around 42% preferred the two HKed speakers and only 3.33% preferred HKbr. These results will be compared with those of prior research in more detail in Chapter 6.

As with the other results, the two ME speakers are rated significantly differently from one another. ME 1 is rated sixth, in the first half of the ranking, while ME 2 comes in eleventh place, which falls into the second half of the ranking as a whole. The significant difference in the ratings of the two ME speakers once again confirms the influence of individual speakers on the evaluations. As described in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1, ME 1 exhibits certain phonological characteristics of American English, which also mislead a number of informants to identify ME 1 as being from the Inner

Circle (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2). Since the informants tend to prefer speakers from the Inner Circle, it is unsurprising to see that they also favour ME 1 over ME 2. Thus this result can act as an independent confirmation of the fact that AmE seems to function as a target learning model.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, section 4.6.2, in the latter part of the questionnaire there are three more questions that were designed explicitly to elicit information about the informants' perceptions of AmE, RP and HKE. These questions are:

19. How much would you prefer to speak American English?
least preferred 1·····2·····3·····4·····5 most preferred
23. How much would you prefer to speak British English?
least preferred 1·····2·····3·····4·····5 most preferred
27. How much would you prefer to speak Hong Kong English?
least preferred 1·····2·····3·····4·····5 most preferred

The results for these three questions are set out in Table 5.15, below. RP is the most preferred variety, being given the highest rating of 3.77. AmE receives a moderately high rating, whereas HKE is rated the lowest amongst the three varieties.

Table 5.15 The informants' perceptual preferences for AmE, RP and HKE

Preference for a variety	Mean	(Male/Female)	Std. Deviation
RP	3.77	(3.68/3.86)	0.84
AmE	3.23	(3.33/3.13)	0.83
HKE	2.41	(2.50/2.31)	0.92

The results, which pertain to the informants' overt perceptual preferences through asking explicit questions, are consistent with the results for responses to stimuli (see the average ratings of 8 varieties in Table 5.1). RP tends to be rated highest, followed by AmE. HKE is consistently rated much lower than these two varieties of English. In other words, there is no doubt that RP and AmE are the preferred targets of the Hong Kong informants, while HKE is much less preferred. These results also parallel the findings from the verbal-guise test, which indicates that the informants have the most positive attitudes towards RP and AmE, whereas the two varieties of HKE are usually rated negatively.

The findings regarding perceptual preferences are consistent with those of S. Poon (2007: 47), who reported that RP was the most favoured variety, followed by AmE and HKE. Luk (1998) did not test for preferences of an American accent but 93.9%

of respondents said they would like to sound like an RP-accented speaker while only 26% preferred the Hong Kong accent. Bolton and Kwok (1990) and Candler (2001), however, report opposing results regarding a US target. Although 65.1% of those sampled in Bolton and Kwok (1990) responded that they would like to sound like a 'British native-speaker' and 25.6% said they would prefer to sound like a 'Hong Kong bilingual', only 6.2% chose 'North American native-speaker' (Bolton and Kwok 1990: 169) as their target. In Candler's (2001: 54) research, however, while 50% of respondents preferred a British accent and 22.5% chose a Hong Kong accent, 22% said they would prefer to have an American accent. These different results will be further discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.1.1.

Table 5.15 also shows the differences in perceptual preference according to gender. The female respondents clearly favour RP and give consistently lower ratings of the other two varieties than the males. The male informants rate the US and HKE accents slightly higher than the female informants. This result appears to support Bolton and Kwok's (1990: 170) findings that 43.4% of their male respondents gave a positive response to 'Hong Kong bilinguals', but only 20.2% of female respondents did so. However, a one-way ANOVA test shows that the differences do not reach statistical significance.[93] Thus while there is certainly a trend, the gender difference in the informants' perceptual preferences for HKE is not significant. The hypothesis that males are more 'positive' regarding HKE should be rejected.

Another three open-ended questions were included in order to ascertain whether informants preferred a different variety of English depending on the situation or domain in which they find themselves. As a reminder to the reader, the three questions are:

20. In what situation do you prefer to use American English?
E.g., with friends, at school, online chatting etc._____
24. In what situation do you prefer to use British English?
E.g., with friends, at school, online chatting etc. _____

[93] AmE: $F(1, 41) = 0.58$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.45$); RP: $F(1, 42) = 0.52$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.48$); HKE: $F(1, 42) = 0.42$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.52$).

28. In what situation do you prefer to use Hong Kong English?
E.g., with friends, at school, online chatting etc. _____

Fishman (1972) employed the concept of 'domain' to refer to a number of characteristic situations on a particular theme which consists of both the speakers' perception of the situation and their language choice. He introduced nine elements of dominance configurations in bilingual situations: the family, the playground and street, the school, the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts and governmental administration (1972: 441). Since the informants in the current study are university students, the number of domains that their language choices are based on is likely to be reduced.[94] In addition, the aim of the current study is to investigate a general pattern of their language preference rather than to examine their language choice in depth. The sample answers provided in the questions therefore guided the informants to give responses according to three broad categories: formal (including answers such as 'at school', 'give a presentation', 'in the classroom' etc.), informal (comprising answers such as 'internet chatting', 'MSN', 'email' 'talk with international exchange students', 'with colleagues'[95] etc.) and intimate (consisting of answers such as 'chat with friends', 'close friends' etc.) situations. Therefore, all the informants' responses are recoded into these three categories.

Table 5.16 In what situation do you prefer to use AmE, RP and HKE?

Situation	AmE (N/ per cent)		RP (N/ per cent)		HKE (N/ per cent)	
Formal	7	15.9%	17	**38.6%**	7	15.9%
Informal	22	**50.0%**	13	29.5%	11	25.0%
Intimate	9	20.5%	10	22.7%	19	**43.2%**
Other and Undefined	6	13.6%	4	9.1%	7	15.9%

Table 5.16 above shows the results for the question about the situation in which informants would prefer to use AmE, RP or HKE respectively. Interestingly, RP is the variety that is preferred for use in formal situations, such as in the classroom or in a presentation. AmE is preferred for informal situations, such as chatting on the

[94] It should be borne in mind that I may need to add new domains that are relevant to the younger generation, such as different types of media, since the subjects were university students.
[95] Please note that most of the answers were originally given in Chinese. The Chinese word 'colleague' usually indicates a person of one's acquaintance. This person is not close enough to be referred to as a 'friend'.

internet or writing email messages. Finally HKE 'won out' in intimate situations, such as talking with friends or chatting with classmates. Therefore, although the Hong Kong informants state a strong preference for RP or AmE overall in my questionnaire, they indicate their preference for HKE in this one domain, intimate situations. This finding is consistent with the higher rating accorded to HKed in the solidarity rankings (see Table 5.9) and thus confirms the fact that the Hong Kong informants did indeed feel a certain degree of connectedness to HKE. Besides, this result also shows the importance of asking about their preference for a variety in different domains. Although HKed is never evaluated as the favourite, it is popular in a particular social context in Hong Kong society.

5.4.3 The choice of a linguistic symbol for Hong Kong identity

This section presents the results obtained from the responses to the question: 'To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?' which was asked after every stimulus and specifically aimed to collect responses concerning the individual accents. It thus differs from statements 2 and 5 (see section 5.5.3) and the open-ended question (ii) (see section 5.5.4) in the way that they focus on informants' general perceptions of the linguistic representation of the local identity. The informants answered this question on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 indicating 'not at all' and 5 indicating 'very much'. The overall results obtained for this question are shown in Table 5.17 below.

Table 5.17 Average ratings of 8 varieties of English for the question: 'To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?'

Ranking	Variety of English	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	AusE	3.03	0.83
2	AmE	2.98	0.91
3	RP	2.97	0.92 (p=.009, <.01)
4	ME	2.51	0.74
5	HKed	2.43	0.80 (p=.037, <.05)
6	TynE	2.16	0.76 (p=.00, <.01)
7	PE	1.68	0.72
8	HKbr	1.49	0.69

Again, a paired-samples t-test was conducted and the presence of a line in bold type on the table indicates significant differences between ratings. Interestingly, even though AusE, AmE and RP are from the Inner Circle and are spoken by people who

live thousands of miles away from Hong Kong, they are rated as being most representative of the Hong Kong identity amongst the eight varieties of English ($t=2.74$, $df=43$, $p<.01$). The surprising result is that AusE, rather than AmE and RP, is evaluated most highly (however, not significantly higher than AmE and RP since they are grouped together according to a t-test). Interestingly, RP is rated very slightly lower than AmE, which seems to be different from the results relating to the choice of model (see Table 5.11) and preference for a particular variety (see Table 5.13). One possible explanation for this result is that Hong Kong is currently in the process of decolonisation after a protracted period of British rule. Although Hong Kong informants prefer prestige varieties of English such as RP and AmE in general and usually choose RP over AmE, it is still the case that RP was the language of the colonial government. Thus the other prestige variety is chosen instead of RP. Table 5.18 will illustrate these findings according to the ratings of each speaker later in this chapter.

One of the local Hong Kong varieties, HKed, is rated relatively high, below ME ($t=2.16$, $df=43$, $p<.05$). As a non-standard variety from the Inner Circle, TynE is evaluated relatively low, in sixth place in the ranking ($t=-3.86$, $df=43$, $p<.01$). PE is unsurprisingly rated negatively in seventh place, though still higher than HKbr, which, again, tailed in last place. Since TynE, PE and HKbr are rated consistently low across the average (Table 5.1), status (Table 5.7) and solidarity ratings (Table 5.9), as well as here, they are unlikely to become symbols of the Hong Kong identity.

The above results once again reflect the contradictory attitudes of Hong Kong informants towards HKE. Although most of the informants acknowledged HKE as being a part of the Hong Kong identity (see section 5.5.4.2), they did not choose it to be the linguistic symbol for Hong Kong. The fact that Hong Kong informants usually turn to high prestige Inner Circle varieties reveals a linguistic self-doubt – which is similar to the linguistic self-hatred observed in the case of New Yorkers (see discussion in Chapter 7, section 7.1). It is also noteworthy that HKE is preferred for use in intimate domains (see Table 5.16), but is not a preferred choice to represent Hong Kong, which in turn suggests that local people seem not perceive HKE as a suitable variety to serve any official functions.

Table 5.18 below shows the ranking of the 16 speakers for this question. Again, speakers of the Inner Circle varieties of English – except TynE 1 and TynE 2 – are all rated highly. More importantly, neither AusE speaker is rated first in the ranking. Thus, the fact that AusE is ranked top amongst the eight varieties (see Table 5.17) is a result of the averaging effect, as mentioned in section 5.4.1. Both HKed 1 and HKed 2 are once again ranked higher than HKbr 1 and HKbr 2, with both speakers of HKbr being rated at the bottom, lower than the two speakers of PE. The significantly different ratings of ME 1 and ME 2 are again the result of the individual differences between these two speakers. As mentioned previously, ME 1 incorporated some phonological features of an American accent and is thus rated highly, a finding that confirms the view that standard English accents, or at least accents that are close to standard English (i.e., RP and AmE), are preferred as symbols of the Hong Kong identity.

Table 5.18 The ratings of the 16 speakers for the question: 'To what extent do you think this speaker represents the Hong Kong identity?'

Ranking	Speaker	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	**AmE 2**	**3.36**	**1.20**
2	***RP 2***	***3.25***	***1.10***
3	*AusE 2*	3.32	*1.07*
4	ME 1	2.75	0.97
5	*AusE 1*	2.75	*1.08*
6	***RP 1***	***2.68***	***1.18***
7	**AmE 1**	2.59	**1.17**
8	HKed 1	2.55	0.98
9	TynE 1	2.48	0.98
10	HKed 2	2.32	0.93
11	ME 2	2.27	1.04
12	TynE 2	1.84	0.83
13	PE 2	1.75	0.75
14	PE 1	1.61	0.89
15	HKbr 1	1.55	0.79
16	HKbr 2	1.43	0.73

5.5 Perceptions of Hong Kong English

This section focuses on the results obtained from Part Two of the research instrument (see Chapter 4, section 4.6.2), where the informants' perceptions of HKE were investigated through their responses to a number of statements:

(i) concern over the intelligibility of HKE

Statement 1: Hong Kong English is acceptable as long as people can communicate properly with it.
Statement 3: Hong Kong English may be difficult for non-Hongkongers to understand, so it is not good for communication

(ii) the acceptability of HKE to represent the Hong Kong people
Statement 2: As a Hongkonger, I should speak Standard English, e.g., British English or American English.
Statement 5: As a Hongkonger, I should speak Hong Kong English.

(iii) the sense of ownership of HKE[96]
Statement 4: Hong Kong English originates from the Hong Kong people, so it can give me the feeling of belonging.
Statement 6: I do not feel that I belong to any English-speaking community, because English is not my native tongue.

In responding to all these statements, the informants were given five choices: a) strongly disagree, b) disagree, c) don't know, d) agree, e) strongly agree. In Chapter 6, I will combine these results in order to provide an overview of Hong Kong informants' perceptions of HKE.

5.5.1 Concern over intelligibility

This section outlines the results of informants' responses to two statements which relate to concern over the intelligibility of HKE. Table 5.19 indicates that half of the informants (50%) agreed that they would accept HKE if people were able to communicate using it, whereas a small number of the informants disagreed (31.8%) and a very few strongly disagreed (2.3%) with this statement.

Table 5.19 Statement 1: Hong Kong English is acceptable as long as people can communicate properly with it.

		Frequency	Percentage
Valid	strongly disagree	1	2.3
	disagree	14	31.8
	don't know	4	9.1
	agree	22	50.0
	strongly agree	3	6.8
	Total	44	100.0

[96] 'The sense of ownership of HKE' is sometimes referred to as 'a sense that HKE belonged to them' in this thesis since Statement 4 is worded 'Hong Kong English originates from Hong Kong people, so it can give me the feeling of belonging'.

To some extent, the relatively strong support for the statement shows that the main concern of informants regarding HKE is its intelligibility. Indeed, Statement 3 was employed to examine the same issue from a different perspective and to shed light on the concern of intelligibility. According to the results presented in Table 5.20, 63.6% of the informants agreed that HKE is not good for communication owing to the problem of intelligibility.

Table 5.20 Statement 3: Hong Kong English may be difficult for non-Hongkongers to understand, so it is not good for communication.

		Frequency	Percentage
Valid	Disagree	7	15.9
	don't know	6	13.6
	agree	28	63.6
	strongly agree	3	6.8
	Total	44	100.0

The responses to both statements thus confirm that concern over the intelligibility of HKE could be a reason for informants not accepting HKE. In fact, the Chi-Square test shows that a significant correlation exists between statements 1 and 3 (Chi-Square=24.60; df=12; $p<0.05$), which shows that they are two sides of one coin.

5.5.2 Acceptability of HKE to represent the Hong Kong people

Having examined the issue of intelligibility, I now move on to the question of identity. As shown in Chapter 1, Hong Kong has developed its own identity which is separate from that of mainland China and which may well therefore be represented by its own variety of English (e.g., Bolton and Kwok 1990; Joseph 2004). In this section the acceptability of HKE for representing the Hong Kong people is investigated. Two statements (Statement 2 and Statement 5) were formulated in order to probe my informants' attitudes towards HKE as a symbol of the Hong Kong identity.

Table 5.21 summarises the informants' responses to Statement 2 and shows that the vast majority of the informants agreed (70.5%) or strongly agreed (20.5%) that Hong Kong people should speak Standard English.

Table 5.21 Statement 2: As a Hongkonger, I should speak Standard English, e.g., British English or American English.

		Frequency	Percentage
Valid	disagree	1	2.3
	don't know	3	6.8
	agree	31	70.5
	strongly agree	9	20.5
	Total	44	100.0

These results provide the motivational explanation for some of the above verbal-guise ratings. Informants tend to choose Standard English as the learning model. In addition, although the statement starts with the phrase 'as a Hongkonger', thus emphasising the distinct identity of the Hong Kong people, the informants still agreed with the importance of speaking a standard Inner Circle variety such as British English or American English.

I decided to test the question of Hong Kong identity further by asking the informants to respond to a statement that is opposite to Statement 2. The results are shown in Table 5.22.

Table 5.22 Statement 5: As a Hongkonger, I should speak Hong Kong English.

		Frequency	Per cent
Valid	strongly disagree	14	31.8
	disagree	19	43.2
	don't know	6	13.6
	agree	5	11.4
	Total	44	100.0

Importantly, 43.2% of my informants disagreed and 31.8% strongly disagreed that Hong Kong people should speak HKE. Only 11.4% of all informants agreed that Hong Kong people should use HKE. These results indicate that my informants are unlikely to accept HKE to represent Hong Kong; they prefer to speak – or aim to speak – Standard English varieties such as RP or AmE rather than HKE.

5.5.3 The sense of ownership of HKE

The issue of ownership will be investigated next. HKE is locally rooted and has the potential for becoming an index of the local identity. However, as above shown, Hong Kong informants tend to aim for standard Inner Circle varieties as their target

varieties. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the issue of ownership of the local variety, informants were asked to answer statements 4 and 6.

Table 5.23 shows that 50% of the informants disagreed that HKE can arouse a sense of ownership in them.

Table 5.23 Statement 4: Hong Kong English originates from the Hong Kong people, so it can give me the feeling of belonging.

		Frequency	Percentage
Valid	disagree	22	50.0
	agree	8	18.2
	don't know	6	13.6
	strongly agree	5	11.4
	strongly disagree	3	6.8
	Total	44	100.0

However, 18.2% agreed and 11.4% strongly agreed that such feelings of belonging are aroused by HKE. If we collapse these results into binary categories 'agree/disagree', in order to identify tendencies among the informants' responses, we note that 56.8% of the informants disagreed that HKE can arouse a sense of ownership, whereas 29.5% agreed with the statement.

The responses to Statement 6 will be discussed below. This statement was also designed to investigate informants' perceptions of the feeling of belonging but from a different angle.

Table 5.24 Statement 6: I do not feel that I belong to any English-speaking community, because English is not my native tongue.

		Frequency	Per cent
Valid	strongly disagree	5	11.4
	Disagree	16	36.4
	Don't know	7	15.9
	Agree	16	36.4
	Total	44	100.0

Although 36.4% disagreed and 11.4% strongly disagreed with Statement 6, a similar number of informants (36.4%) agreed that they do not feel they belong to any English-speaking community as English is not their native tongue.

In this case, the informants seem to orient towards a standard Inner Circle model since they are concerned about the intelligibility of HKE. Besides, they do not perceive a local variety, HKE in this case, as a good symbol of their identity. I will probe this result further by investigating the responses to a series of open-ended questions, discussed below.

5.5.4 Results from the four open-ended questions

I will now discuss the responses to four open-ended questions which allowed the informants to express freely how they perceive HKE. The three questions are:

i) Can you explain what Hong Kong English is?
ii) Do you think it is a part of the Hong Kong identity?
iii) Can you tell the difference between the broad Hong Kong accent and the educated Hong Kong accent? What is the difference then?

I will discuss the results for each question below.

5.5.4.1 Can you explain what Hong Kong English is?

The responses to this question can be generalised into three categories. The first category covers the majority of responses which focus on explaining HKE on the basis of its linguistic features, such as phonology, grammar and vocabulary. The second category consists of explanations of HKE in terms of English proficiency. The third category comprises informants' perceptions of HKE in terms of some descriptions of HKE speakers. Table 5.25 summarises all responses according to these four categories.

Table 5.25 Can you explain what Hong Kong English is?[97]

Category 1 HKE Linguistic Features

C 1.1 Accent (in general)

'There is a HK accent ... It's not standard.'

'It is a kind[98] of English with a HK accent.'

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[97] Since the informants were allowed to answer freely, some answers included information which overlapped across the four categories. These answers, therefore, appear several times in different categories.

[98] It should be noted that the use of 'kind' or 'variety' in informants' answers does not imply that they understand the concept of variety from a sociolinguistic perspective. These are 'measure words' in

'... a non-standard, non-native accent.'
'The majority of Hongkongers speak English with an accent.'
'HKE is ... HK accent'.
'Non-standard English accent.'
'...not standard.'
'... it's with a HK accent.'
'... The accent is different from the British accent.'
'... not as standard as British or American.'
'It is not native English.'
'... with some HK accent.'
'... has a HK accent.'(×2)[99]
'It has a HK accent and it is not standard English.'
'English with a HK accent.'

C 1.2 Phonology

'HKE doesn't have /r/, /l/, and stress.'
'The tone of HKE is always the same for every word. This is the result of the influence of the mother tongue, Cantonese. Hong Kong people use the same tone for all other languages.'
'...The intonation is similar to Cantonese...'
'HKE has less intonation.'
'... e.g. /ð/ sounds like /d/...'
'... Some pronunciations are not correct,'
'The HKE pronunciation is with Cantonese intonation.'
'Speaking English with the tones of Cantonese.'
'... Speaking English is like speaking Cantonese, e.g., the syllables, stress [of HKE are similar to those of Cantonese].'
'HKE pronunciation is not standard...'
'The tone does not match the emotion of a speaker.'
'... which does not have a lot of changes in intonation. The speaking speed is relatively slow.'
'It's English with Cantonese characteristics, for example, there is no /r/.'
'There are many lazy sounds, for example, there is no change in intonation. The pronunciation is not standard.'
'The pronunciation is like reading Chinese characters. No rhythm...'
'It has /ia/, /la/ sounds. The intonation of HKE is weird.'
'...without intonation, rate or emphasising of content.'
'It is lack of intonation. The tone is flat.'
'People use the ninth tone [which is a tone Cantonese has] to speak English.'
'English with Cantonese pronunciation.'

C 1.3 Grammar

Chinese, which appear between the number and the object. For example, 'an apple' is 'yi ge pingguo' in Chinese. 'Yi' means 'one' and 'pingguo' means 'apple', whereas the word 'ge' is a measure word meaning 'a kind', 'a variety', 'a piece of', etc. As these answers were translated from Chinese, the word 'variety' was a direct translation of the measure word the informants used.

[99] Two informants answered identically.

'It's ungrammatical.'
'... the English language used on the internet, such as 'ar', 'la', 'lor' [which are Cantonese interjection particles put at the end of a sentence].'
'... or it has Cantonese interjections.'
'It is a kind of local English without standard grammar.'
'It has some Cantonese particles, e.g., 'lar', 'um'...'
'It is mixed with Chinese grammar.'
'... it's ungrammatical.'
'... the grammar is incorrect most of time.'

C 1.4 Vocabulary

'... It has Cantonese meanings in sentences.'
'HKE is that Hongkongers create English words by themselves...'.

Category 2 English Proficiency

'It is not fluent...'
'It's not fluent...'

Category 3 Speaker of HKE

'The majority of Hongkongers...'
'It's English spoken by Hong Kong people...'
'... spoken by HK people.'
'English spoken by HK people.'
'HKE is used for ... HK people.'

Hence, apart from one informant who stated that it is difficult to explain HKE, all the other 43 informants wrote down their opinions of HKE. The fact that the vast majority explain HKE in terms of linguistic features – despite not being linguistic students – confirms that an awareness of a distinctive local variety of English exists among HK people. Indeed, some of their perceptions are quite astute, such as '/ð/ sounds like /d/' in HKE, or the awareness of the difference in the intonation between HKE and Standard English. Some informants also realised the fact that HKE is the variety that most Hong Kong people use in communication. However, if we take a careful look at these responses, the frequent use of negative words, such as 'incorrect', 'not standard', 'ungrammatical', 'not fluent', indicates a negative attitude towards this local variety of English. In fact, all responses can be seen to represent either a neutral attitude, i.e., stating facts, such as that HKE is spoken by the majority of Hong Kong people, or a negative attitude, e.g., perceiving the pronunciation of HKE to be incorrect. Importantly, amongst the 44 responses, not a single positive comment was found in the current study, whereas S. Poon (2007: 59) did find some positive comments in her study. I will discuss this difference in Chapter 7, section 7.3.

I shall now examine the answers to the next open-ended question which investigated the potential of HKE to act as a part of the Hong Kong identity. Almost all responses to this question were a simple 'yes' or 'no'.

5.5.4.2 Do you think HKE is a part of the Hong Kong identity?

Two informants answered 'perhaps yes'[100], which indicates some uncertainty. These responses are grouped with other affirmative answers since the informants put 'perhaps yes' rather than 'perhaps no'. One informant wrote 'it represents [Hong Kong identity] on a cultural and educational level' which is categorised as an affirmative answer since it explains exactly which part of the Hong Kong identity HKE represents. Another informant answered '[HKE] represents part of it [i.e., the Hong Kong identity]' which is also categorised as an affirmative answer since it is exactly what the question referred to. The overall results are summarised in Table 5.26.

Table 5.26 Do you think HKE is a part of the Hong Kong identity?

Responses	Number	Per cent
Yes	27	61.4%
No	17	38.6%
Total	44	100%

The results indicate that more than 60% of the informants perceived HKE to be part of Hong Kong identity, whereas a much smaller percentage disagreed with the idea. These results seem to contradict the results obtained earlier in response to Statement 5 ('As a Hongkonger, I should speak Hong Kong English.') presented in Table 5.22, section 5.5.2. The conflict between responses merits some further discussion.

On the one hand, the results from Statement 5 indicate that my informants rejected the idea of speaking HKE even when the emphasis was on being a Hongkonger (the phrase 'as a Hongkonger' being used in the statement). On the other hand, the

[100] Please note that responses other than a simple 'yes' or 'no' were originally in Chinese and were translated into English. Chinese is a language that usually omits the subject or object of a sentence. For example, 'Yes, I go to school' in Chinese can simply be 'Yes, go'. Therefore, the subject or object of a sentence was added in the [brackets] in order to reflect the answers accurately.

majority of respondents perceived HKE to be part of a Hong Kong identity. The most plausible explanation for these conflicting findings is that HKE is an unwelcome symbol of the Hong Kong identity, and one which Hong Kong people eschew. Even though they realise that HKE, which has distinctive features, is spoken by many Hong Kong people and that it is inevitable that it will represent the Hong Kong identity to a large extent, they still view it with disfavour and disapprove of it as a learning outcome or as a language norm.

In order to differentiate between the perceptions of the two accents spoken commonly in Hong Kong, I also asked the informants whether they could distinguish between HKed and HKbr.

5.5.4.3 Can you tell the difference between the broad Hong Kong accent and the educated Hong Kong accent? What is the difference then?

Most informants gave a response of 'yes' or 'no' to the first part of the question and then commented on the second part. Some informants dealt directly with the differences between HKbr and HKed, which implies affirmative answers to the first part of the question. There are two answers that are not easily categorised as either 'yes' or 'no' and they are therefore grouped into an 'unsure' category.[101] The results for the first part of this question are summarised in Table 5.27.

Table 5.27 Can you tell the difference between the broad Hong Kong accent and the educated Hong Kong accent?

Response	Number	Per cent
Yes*	32	72.7%
No	10	22.7%
Unsure	2	4.5%
Total	44	100%

[101] One response was 'highly educated people should not speak English with a heavy HK accent.' The other response was 'I don't know if I can tell [the difference] or not. But the HKed accent should sound nicer than HKbr.'

As seen in Table 5.27, the vast majority of my informants claimed that they could identify the difference between HKbr and HKed, which further justifies my decision to classify HKE into these two varieties.

I shall now examine what Hong Kong people perceive to be the differences between these two varieties. As with the responses to statements investigating the participants' perceptions of HKE, the responses concerning the difference between HKbr and HKed also focus on linguistic features.[102] The following responses exemplify the answers that refer to linguistic aspects of the local dialects, especially those involving English proficiency:

Differentiation of HKed and HKbr – Responses involving English proficiency (6 out of 44 responses):

'The differences are the English proficiency and if [English is spoken] with standard pronunciation.'
'[The difference is] the level of proficiency.' (× 2)[103]
'HKbr has a lack of logical connection [i.e., ungrammatical] or fluency. HKed is a kind of English which can be spoken fluently; the main points of speaking can be understood [by listeners].'
'... whereas HKed is much more fluent.'
'[The differences] are in fluency and accuracy.'

However, some informants' responses (9 out of 44) particularly associated HKed with speaking English with either a British or an American accent.

Difference between HKed and HKbr – Responses associated with British or American accent (9 out of 44 responses):

'HKbr is very local and can often be heard. HKed is more like the British accent which can usually be heard on TV programmes.'
'HKed is very like a British/American accent.'
'The intonation of HKed is more like British or American.'
'HKed is more like a British accent. The mistakes in pronunciation are relatively less.'
'HKbr can be counted as bad English. It doesn't even have a standard. HKed is more standard and sounds more like a British accent.'
'... HKed is almost the same as British English.'

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[102] Please note that some of the answers were given in English by the informants, while some were subsequently translated from Chinese. Since none of the informants were linguists, certain linguistic descriptions are not fully accurate or might not make sense from a linguistic perspective.
[103] Two informants answered identically.

'HKed has a heavy British accent and the pronunciation is more standard.'
'The speakers of HKbr have a lower level of education, whereas HKed is more British style.'
'The difference between HKed and HKbr is like the difference between HKE and British English.'

Others (5 out of 44) linked the difference between HKbr and HKed to the difference between standard and non-standard.

Difference between HKed and HKbr – Responses associated with standard/non-standard accent (5 out of 44 responses):

'HKbr has non-standard pronunciation, whereas HKed is fairly standardised.'
'HKed is more like a Standard English accent.'
'The differences are English proficiency and if [English is spoken] with standard pronunciation.'
'HKbr can be counted as bad English. It doesn't even have a standard. HKed is more standard and sounds more like a British accent.'
'HKed has a heavy British accent and the pronunciation is more standard.'

The three kinds of response outlined above generally indicate that HKed includes a higher proficiency level, it is more standard and closer to British or American English, whereas HKbr has a lower level of proficiency, is less or non-standardised and closer to the local accent. These informants' responses actually confirm the division of HKE into two varieties (see Chapter 2, section 2.3) described earlier, with HKed being classified as a variety with a higher English proficiency which is closer to the native norm at one end of a continuum and which manifests fewer idealised HKE features. In contrast, HKbr is classified as a variety with lower English proficiency which is closer to the other end of the continuum and which thus represents an idealised HKE with almost all HKE features. Furthermore, the perceptions of HKed display a relatively positive attitude towards this accent. In contrast with HKbr, HKed is described as more fluent with fewer mistakes, more standard etc. The responses to HKbr demonstrate informants' negative attitudes towards this variety. For example, HKbr is described as incorrect English with many mistakes and as being neither fluent nor standard.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the linguistic norm in Outer Circle Hong Kong depends mainly on Inner Circle varieties from countries such as the UK or US. Although Hong Kong may be in the process of developing its own English language norms of correctness and appropriateness, the shift from exonormative to endonormative is unlikely to have been completed within the short period since it gained its autonomy

from the British government in 1997. It is thus to be expected that my informants orient to an English language standard from the Inner Circle and prefer HKed to HKbr owing to the fact that HKed is close to Standard English.

This chapter has presented the informants' attitudes and perceptions of eight varieties of English. I will examine the possible correlations between their attitudes and social variables in the next chapter.

Chapter Six
Data Analysis: The effects of informants' socio-demographic characteristics on the formation of attitudes

In the first section of this chapter I will analyse the main effects of a number of social variables on the informants' evaluations. In the second section, I will present the findings from the data collected from questions relating to variety recognition and an investigation of the possible effect of accent/variety recognition on evaluations of that variety.

6.1 Main effects of social variables on informants' evaluations

Information concerning the socio-demographic backgrounds of informants was collected as part of the research in order to investigate whether these variable(s) might influence the formation of people's attitudes towards the varieties of English under investigation. I also wanted to test the extent to which these social factors might account for differences observed in the data. The social variables I investigated were: a) gender; b) medium of instruction; c) previous exposure to eight varieties of English; d) cultural identity and e) socio-economic status. The following sub-sections contain an analysis of the potential impact of the informants' socio-demographic profile on their overall ratings of the eight varieties of English. I also conducted separate tests of the interaction between social factors and average ratings of the four speakers of HKE, since HKE is the main focus of the current study. Although previous studies have also considered several social variables (e.g., Bolton and Kwok 1990; Candler 2001; S. Poon 2007), none of these employed statistical tests to establish the relationship between speakers' socio-demographic background and attitude differences between speaker groups. Furthermore, to my knowledge, while both Candler (2001) and S. Poon (2007) focused on the effects of medium of instruction and previous exposure to accents on Hong Kong students' recognition of accents, no previous research has examined whether these variables have a significant effect on people's attitudes towards accents.

The main analytical instrument employed for this part of the analysis was multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) tests. A MANOVA is considered to be

an extension of the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) test.[104] It is usually employed to investigate the interactions between independent variable(s) and two or more dependent variables. Although some researchers tend to conduct a separate ANOVA for each dependent variable when there is more than one dependent variable under investigation, multiple ANOVA tests are thought to increase the chance of making a Type I error (Field 2005: 594).[105] In addition, a MANOVA provides a more sensitive measure of the effects of the independent variable(s) on various dependent variables in that it takes account of the relationships between dependent variables (Field 2005: 572). Under these circumstances, a MANOVA helps to detect whether groups, i.e., independent variables, 'differ along a combination of dimensions which are formed by more than one dependent variable' (*ibid.*).

Before conducting a MANOVA, the *homogeneity of covariance matrices* needs to be confirmed, which means that the variances in each variable should be roughly equal (the equality of covariance assumption) and that the correlation between any two dependent variables should be roughly the same (the assumption of variance-covariance matrices as noted in Field 2005: 592-593). The former can be checked using Levene's Test, the result of which should not be significant for any of the dependent variables (providing the variances are roughly equal). That is, the significance level should exceed 0.05 ($p>0.05$) for all of the dependent variables.[106] The assumption of variance-covariance matrices can be checked using Box's Test, the outcome of which should not be significant if the correlation between any two dependent variables is the same. That is, the significance level should exceed 0.05

[104] Generally speaking, One-way ANOVA is a test comparing several means in order to find out whether the mean scores are significantly different from each other (Field 2005: 388).
[105] A Type I error occurs when we surmise a genuine effect between the independent variable(s) and dependent variable(s) in the sample when in fact there is none. In other words, the null hypothesis is rejected when it should not be.
[106] Sometimes, a more conservative alpha level of 0.025 is applied so that a follow-up multivariate analysis can be conducted (Tabachnik and Fidell 2001: 80).

($p>0.05$). In each section below, I will first present the results of Levene's Test and Box's Test.[107]

After conducting a MANOVA, I chose Roy's Largest Root test [108] to detect significant effects of the independent variable(s) on the dependent variables. The resultant statistic, eta squared, indicates the effect size, and assesses the strength of any significant impact. The effect size ranges from 0 to 1. The values of eta squared are interpreted as follows: 0-0.1 is a weak effect, 0.1-0.3 is a modest effect, 0.3-0.5 is a moderate effect and >0.5 is a strong effect (Muijs 2004: 195).

If a significant effect can be found in a MANOVA, it is necessary to conduct follow-up analyses in order to identify where the differences lie. Usually, multiple one-way ANOVA tests are used on each dependent variable. However, if there is no significant effect found in a MANOVA, there is no need to conduct further analyses on each of the dependent variables. After conducting various analytical tests it was found that, generally speaking, none of the social variables had a significant effect on the informants' attitudes (see Table 6.1).[109] The following sections will (i) explain the testing methods in some detail in order to show the appropriateness of using each test and (ii) discuss these results more fully, comparing them with previous studies. This will shed some light on the data analysis and thus be helpful for future research on language attitudes employing SPSS.

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[107] The MANOVA test is very robust, which indicates that a violation of assumptions would not affect the significance level. However, when there are one or more violations of the assumptions, it is better to conduct assumption-free tests known as non-parametric tests. A non-parametric test was conducted in this study when the assumptions of MANOVA tests were violated (see section 6.1.2).

[108] There are generally four test statistics which show whether or not there is a significant difference in the sample: Roy's Largest Root, Hotelling's Trace, Wilks's Lambda and Pilai's Trace. These four test statistics differ little for small and moderate sample sizes (Tabachnik and Fidel 2001; Field 2005: 594). Since in my sample there were eight varieties of English and 44 informants, there are unlikely to be significantly different results across the four test statistics. Hence Roy's Largest Root was randomly chosen.

[109] The attitudes towards four HKE speakers were tested with two dependent variables – gender and cultural identity – owing to the fact that there is previous research suggesting the existence of a correlation (Bolton and Kwok 1990; S. Poon 2007), or in order to find out whether and to what extent the informants are willing to take HKE as a linguistic symbol of Hong Kong. Other dependent variables, therefore, are not specifically tested with the evaluations of four separate HKE speakers.

Table 6.1 The effects of social variables on informants' attitudes

Dependent variable	Independent variable	Result	
Gender	8 varieties	F=1.83	p=.12
	4 HKE speakers	F=92	p=.10
Familiarity			
1. Medium of instruction (primary school)	8 varieties	F=1.22	p=.33
2. Medium of instruction (F1 – F5)	8 varieties	F=1.51	p=.22
3. Medium of instruction (F6 – F7)	8 varieties	RP U=140.00 AmE U=151.50 AusE U=152.00 TynE U=128.00 HKed U=140.50 HKbr U=147.50 PE U=174.50 ME U=132.00	p=.27 p=.50 p=.51 p=.09 p=.22 p=.30 p=.76 p=.22
4. Education abroad	8 varieties	F=1.88	p=.11
5. Overall exposure to the English language	8 varieties	RP r=.20 AmE r=-.29 AusE r=-.08 TynE r=-.01 HKed r = -.42 HKbr r=-.30 PE r=.38 ME r=.05	p=.20 p=.14 p=.60 p=.96 p=.03* p=.13 p=.38 p=.79
6. Exposure to a specific variety of English	8 varieties	RP r=-.04 AmE r=.24 AusE r=.13 HKed r=.17 HKbr r=-.23 PE r=-.18 ME r=.01	p=.79 p=.12 p=.40 p=.28 p=.15 p=.24 p=.96
Cultural identity	8 varieties 4 HKE speakers	F = 1.31 F = 2.41	p=.28 p=.07
Socio-economic status	8 varieties	RP r=-.38 AmE r=-.27 AusE r=-.04 TynE r=-.08 HKed r=-.31 HKbr r=-.07 PE r=.20 ME r=.04	p=.01* p=.08 p=.12 p=.62 p=.04* p=.65 p=.21 p=.80
Note:	* p<0.05		

No significant effect or correlation was found between these social variables and the informants' attitudes towards the eight varieties in question. It is important to note

here, that I examined a relatively small number of cases (N=44) and it might be worth investigating whether the trends reported might reach statistical significance when tested on the basis of a larger population sample.

6.1.1 Main effects of gender on informants' evaluations

A summary of the data pertaining to gender is presented in Table 6.2. In this particular application of a MANOVA, the independent variable was gender, comprising two levels – male and female – and the dependent variables are the average ratings of the eight varieties of English tested here.[110]

Table 6.2 Distribution of informants according to gender

Value Label	N
Male	19
Female	17
Total[111]	36

A MANOVA allows me to detect whether the male and female informants differ along a combination of eight average ratings, which, in turn, reveals whether gender had an effect on the informants' attitudes towards the eight varieties of English.

The result of Box's Test was not significant (p=0.84, >0.05), which indicates that no violation of the assumption of the equality of covariance matrices occurred. Levene's Test also exceeded 0.05 for all eight varieties of English, which confirms the assumption of equality of variances for each dependent variable.

Although there seems to be a difference according to gender (see Appendix 5), the results from the MANOVA showed that the effect of gender is not significant: F(8, 27)=1.83, p>0.05 (p=0.12); Roy's Largest Root=0.54; partial eta squared=0.35 suggests a moderate effect size.

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[110] The average ratings are: AmE=3.51, RP=3.45, AusE=3.34, ME=3.32, HKed=3.30, TynE=3.12, PE=2.99, HKbr=2.73. Full details can be found in Chapter 4, section 4.1.

[111] The reason that the total number of informants is given as 36 rather than 44 is that some data points were missing in the average ratings of the eight varieties of English. This may also be the case in other places in this chapter, although it will not be discussed on every occasion, so the reader should simply make this assumption unless directed otherwise.

I shall now examine in more detail the effect of gender on the overall evaluations of four HKE speakers since Bolton and Kwok (1990) indicated a trend that the male was more likely to prefer Hong Kong accent than the female (see also Chapter 3, section 3.3.3.2). Table 6.3, below, summarises the distribution of informants according to gender. Again, the independent variable is gender and the dependent variables are the informants' overall ratings of the four HKE speakers.

Table 6.3 Distribution of informants according to gender

Value Label	N
Male	21
Female	21
Total	42

The result of Box's Test was not significant (p=0.74, >0.05) and Levene's Test exceeded 0.05, which indicates that no violation of the assumptions was found. Before I show the results of the MANOVA, it is worth noting that the descriptive data (see Appendix 5) suggest that the male informants were more 'generous' in their ratings than the females were. In other words, the male informants tended to give higher ratings. This seems to corroborate the tendency found by Giles and Powesland (1975: 31) that 'male listeners...show more accent loyalty in rating the local accent...than female subjects'.

Although differences were found in the evaluations of the four HKE speakers according to gender, these differences do not achieve statistical significance in a MANOVA: F(4, 37)=0.92, p>0.05 (p= 0.43); Roy's Largest Root= 0.10; partial eta squared=0.38 suggests a moderate effect size.

From the two separate MANOVA tests described above it can therefore be concluded that informants' gender does not have a significant effect on the overall ratings of the eight varieties of English or of the four speakers of HKE. Interestingly, this result indicates that the relatively positive attitude towards HKed is not conditioned by the factor of gender. Both male and female informants evaluated this variety in the same way, which generalises the positive attitude to HKed to a certain degree, which also responds to the call of Bolton and Kwok to investigate the effect of gender on attitudes towards HKE.

6.1.2 The main effects of familiarity with English on informants' evaluations

This section presents the results of the analysis of the effects of familiarity with varieties of English on the informants' ratings of the eight varieties of English and four speakers of HKE. Several factors are operationalised as indicators of how familiar the subjects might have been with these guises and I will discuss these three factors in turn. First, the main effects of medium of instruction on informants' evaluations are presented. Then, the question of whether education abroad has an effect on the evaluations is analysed. Lastly, the correlation between overall exposure to the English language and the average ratings of the eight varieties of English is investigated.

As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.4, because the informants were university students when the data were collected, the question regarding medium of instruction in previous education focused on three levels: the medium of instruction used at primary school, the language used as a medium between Form 1 and Form 5, and that used between Form 6 and Form 7. Table 6.4 shows the descriptive data according to the three levels.

Table 6.4 Distribution of informants according to medium of instruction

Medium of Instruction	Primary school	Form 1- Form 5	Form 6 - Form 7
CMI	19	28	27
EMI	17	8	9
Total*	36	36	36
Note:	CMI indicates that the medium of instruction was Chinese. EMI indicates that the medium of instruction was English.		

First, a MANOVA was conducted to analyse the main effects of a difference in medium of instruction at primary school on the informants' evaluations of the eight varieties of English. The dependent variables were the average ratings of the eight varieties of English based on evaluations according to 21 traits. The independent variable, the medium of instruction at primary school, consisted of two groups: Chinese medium of instruction (CMI) and English medium of instruction (EMI). The means and standard deviations of the average ratings according to the medium of instruction used at primary school are detailed in Appendix 6.

The result of Box's Test was not significant ($p=0.14$, >0.05). Levene's Test exceeded 0.05 for seven ratings of eight varieties of English. However, the alpha score for

TynE (p=0.04) did not exceed 0.05. Hence, a more conservative alpha level of 0.025 was applied only to the TynE variable so that the follow-up MANOVA could be conducted (Tabachnik and Fidell 2001: 80).

The results from the MANOVA indicate that the differences in the evaluations of the eight varieties of English according to the medium of instruction used at primary school are not significant: F(8, 27)=1.22, p>0.05 (p=0.33); Roy's Largest Root=0.36; partial eta squared=0.27 suggests a modest effect size. It may be concluded that differences in the informants' medium of instruction at primary school thus does not have a significant effect on their evaluations of the eight varieties of English.

Secondly, the main effects of the difference in medium of instruction between Form 1 and Form 5 on informants' evaluations of the eight varieties of English were analysed using a MANOVA[112]. The result of Box's Test was not significant (p=0.06, >0.05). However, Levene's Test exceeded 0.05 for seven varieties of English but not for HKbr (p=0.03). As above, a more conservative alpha level of 0.025 was applied only to the HKbr variable so that the follow-up MANOVA could be conducted (Tabachnik and Fidell 2001: 80). It was found that the medium of instruction used between F1 and F5 did not have a significant effect on the informants' evaluations of different varieties of English: F(8, 27)=1.51, p>0.05 (=0.22); Roy's Largest Root=0.43; partial eta squared=0.30 suggests a moderate effect size.

Thirdly, the main effects of the difference in the medium of instruction used between Form 6 and Form 7 on informants' evaluations of eight varieties of English were analysed. The results of the MANOVA indicated that two violations occurred: Box's Test result was significant (p=0.01, <0.05); Levene's Test exceeded 0.05 for seven varieties of English but not for HKbr. Since the MANOVA test could not be conducted owing to the violations of the assumptions, a non-parametric test was chosen (Field 2005: 521). Non-parametric tests 'work on the principle of ranking the

[112] The means and standard deviations of the ratings of the eight varieties of English according to medium of instruction between F1 and F5 are detailed in Appendix 7.

data, that is, finding the lowest score and giving it a rank of 1, then finding the next highest score and giving it a rank of 2, and so on'. This process can result in high scores being represented by large ranks and low scores by small ranks. Therefore the analysis is carried out on the ranks rather than on the actual data per se. This process is 'an ingenious way around the problem of using data that break the parametric assumptions' (e.g., the assumptions for MANOVA tests) (*ibid: 521*).

The test that was chosen in order to test the differences of average ratings of eight varieties of English between two conditions, i.e., Chinese medium of instruction (CMI) and English medium of instruction (EMI) was the Mann-Whitney test.[113] This test (which is later denoted by a U value) revealed that the medium of instruction used in F6 and F7 did not have a significant effect on the informants' evaluations across eight varieties of English since none of the p-values is smaller than .05.[114]

Let us now investigate the results of the MANOVA analysis of the effects of education abroad on the informants' evaluations of the eight varieties of English. As a reminder, the information regarding education abroad is obtained by asking informants to answer the following question:

12. Have you been educated abroad (including long-term or short-term courses)?
    Yes/ No
    If yes, how old were you when you studied abroad? _____
    Which country did you study in? the UK / the US / Australia / the Philippines / Other_____
    How long was the course? _____
    What type of course was it exactly? E.g., English course, Form 1. _____

Since nine of the informants who were educated in a country classified as being in the Inner Circle, i.e., UK (N=4), US (N=2), Canada (N=2), New Zealand (N=1), the

[113] The mean ranks for eight varieties of English according to medium of instruction between Form 6 and Form 7 are presented in Appendix 8.

[114] PR with U=140.00, p=0.27; AmE with U=151.50, p=0.50; AusE with U=152.00, p=0.51; TynE with U=128.00, p=0.09; HKed with U=140.50, p=0.22; HKbr with U=147.50, p=0.30; PE with U=174.50, p= 0.76; ME with U=132.00, p=0.22.

independent variable, education abroad, was set up as binary – educated in an Inner Circle country and not educated abroad (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Distribution of informants according to education abroad

		Value Label	N
Educated in an Inner Circle country	1.00	yes	9
	2.00	no	27
Note:	'Yes' indicates that the informants had been educated in an Inner Circle country. 'No' indicates that the informants had not been educated abroad.		

No violation was found since Box's Test was not significant (p=0.73, >0.05), and Levene's Test exceeded 0.05 for all ratings of eight varieties of English. Thus the MANOVA was allowed to proceed, and this revealed no significant overall effect between the responses of the group of informants educated in an Inner Circle country and the group of those not educated abroad: $F(8, 27)=1.88$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.11$); Roy's Largest Root=0.86; partial eta squared=0.36, which suggests a moderate effect size. Indeed, it is important to note that the data contained an interesting trend in the sense that there were relatively consistent differences in the informants' ratings of the eight varieties of English depending on education abroad (see Appendix 9). In other words, those who have not been educated abroad tend to rate almost all varieties of English more highly except for TynE. It is nevertheless noteworthy that these differences were found not to be significantly affected by the variable of education abroad.

The next section addresses the correlation between previous exposure to the English language as a whole and the informants' ratings of the eight varieties of English. Secondly, the relationship between exposure to a specific variety of English and the informants' ratings of this variety of English will be examined.

Overall exposure to the English language for these university students was calculated via informants' responses to questions regarding their exposure to English in the contexts of local education (Questions 6-11), education abroad (Question 12) and personal encounters (Questions 13, 17 and 18, 21 and 22, 25 and 26, 29-32; for the full version of the questionnaire, see Appendix 14).

Table 6.6 shows the results of overall exposure to the English language. The mean exposure is 30 with a standard deviation of 5. The majority of informants have an exposure level of 29, with a minimum of 17 and a maximum of 42. The fact that all

informants are university students might lead us to assume that they have fairly similar exposure levels to English. However, there are some differences in their previous experiences, such as medium of instruction or the nature of their personal encounters, e.g., frequently conversing with an American English speaker.

Table 6.6 Overall exposure to the English language

N	Valid	29
	Missing	15
Mean		30.0000
Mode		29.00(a)
Std. Deviation		5.10602
Minimum		17.00
Maximum		42.00

a Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown.

Since overall exposure to English and average ratings of the eight varieties of English are continuous variables (Muijs 2004: 142), multiple separate bivariate analyses were conducted to examine whether a relationship existed between pairs of variables, i.e. overall exposure to English and average rating of each of the eight varieties of English. In total, eight bivariate analysis tests were conducted: (i) overall exposure to English and average rating of each RP speaker; (ii) overall exposure and the rating of each AmE speaker; (iii) overall exposure and the rating of each HKed speaker; (iv) overall exposure and the rating of each ME speaker.

Bivariate analysis is usually used to assess the relationship between two continuous variables, and a correlation coefficient, called *Pearson's r*, can indicate the direction and the strength of that relationship (Muijs 2004: 142). *Pearson's r* coefficients vary between -1 and +1. A coefficient of +1 indicates that the two variables are perfectly positively correlated, that is, as one variable increases the other increases by a proportionate amount; a coefficient of -1 indicates a perfect negative relationship; and 0 indicates no relationship at all, that is, when one variable changes the other stays the same (Field 2005: 111). *Pearson's r* is commonly used to measure the size of an effect. Generally, ±0.1 represents a weak effect size, ±0.3 is modest, ±0.5 is moderate, ±0.8 is strong, and ≥±0.8 indicates a very strong effect size.

The results from the bivariate analysis show that only one correlation reached statistical significance.[115] Thus, the average rating of HKed (according to the 21 traits collected from the verbal-guise test) was found to be negatively correlated to overall exposure to English, with a coefficient of r=-0.42, which is significant at $p<0.05$ ($p=0.03$). In other words, the greater the exposure of an informant to the English language, the lower the rating that informant gave to HKed. It is unclear exactly why there was this effect. If the informants who have higher exposure to English are better able to identify the speakers of HKed as non-native speakers of English, then they might tend to give low ratings to HKed. However, the later test will show that the identification of HKed did not, in fact, have an effect on the informants' evaluations of that variety (see section 6.2.3). Since all other correlations do not reach statistical significance, it is likely that this result might be a Type I error and therefore random.[116] Note that overall exposure to the English language is unlikely to play a significant role in the informants' evaluations of the other seven varieties of English.

Secondly, I analysed the relationship between exposure to a specific variety and evaluations of that variety. In the questionnaire, information on exposure (via education, travel, the media) to HKE, RP and AmE was collected by asking informants Questions 6-13, 17 andl 8, 21 and 22, and 25 and 26 (See Appendix 14). Information on exposure (via the media) to AusE, PE and ME was collected from the responses to Questions 29-32 (See Appendix 14).[117] As a reminder, the answers to these questions ranged from 'not [exposed] at all' (recoded into '0') to '[exposed]

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[115] RP (r=-0.24, p=0.20, >0.05), AmE (r=-0.29, p=0.14, >0.05), AusE (r=-0.08, p=0.69, >0.05), TynE (r=-0.01, p=0.96, >0.05), HKbr (r=-0.30, p=0.13, >0.05), PE (r=-0.17, p=0.38, >0.05), ME (r=0.05, p=0.79, >0.05).

[116] As pointed out by Field (2005: 348), the more tests are conducted on the same data, the higher probability of making a Type I error, which in this case could be a random significance being found to exist between exposure to English and the average rating of HKed where there should not be any. This is the reason for my conducting one MANOVA rather than several separate ANOVA tests at the outset. However, as already stated, it was necessary to conduct multiple bivariate analysis tests owing to the fact that the variables in question are continuous in nature.

[117] There were fewer questions focusing on specific exposure to AusE, PE and ME. Therefore, the analyses of the correlation between exposure to these three varieties and the evaluation of them were separated from the analyses of AmE, RP and HKE.

every day' (recoded into '3'). Exposure to each variety of English was computed by recoding the responses to these questions as numbers and summing up the numbers.

Table 6.7 shows the informants' overall exposure to the three varieties of English, i.e., HKE, RP and AmE. Since the sample of the current research consisted of Hong Kong informants and the data collection was conducted in Hong Kong, it was not surprising to find that the informants are most exposed to HKE, with a mean score of 6.66 (out of 12). Exposure to RP followed HKE with a mean score of 3.75. The informants' exposure to AmE is relatively low (a mean score of 3.00) by comparison to HKE and RP.

Table 6.7 Overall exposure to HKE, RP and AmE

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Exposure to HKE	44	1.00	12.00	6.66	2.18
Exposure to RP	44	.00	10.00	3.75	1.93
Exposure to AmE	44	.00	7.00	3.00	1.41
Valid N (listwise)	44				

The results from a bivariate analysis show that none of the correlations between exposure to these varieties and rating of the varieties reach statistical significance since all the p-values exceed .05.[118] Next, we shall see that this outcome is repeated in the cases of AusE, PE and ME. Table 6.8 demonstrates the informants' overall exposure to the other varieties of interest, namely, AusE, PE and ME.[119]

Table 6.8 Overall exposure to AusE, PE and ME

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Exposure to AusE	44	0.00	4.00	1.20	1.00
Exposure to ME	44	0.00	2.00	1.07	.73
Exposure to PE	44	0.00	2.00	.57	.66
Valid N (listwise)	44				

[118] The informants' evaluations of HKed and HKbr were not significantly correlated to their exposure to HKE, with a coefficient of r=0.17, p>0.05 (p=0.28) and r=-0.23, p>0.05 (p=0.15) respectively; the same result could be found for the rating of RP / exposure to RP: r=-0.04, p>0.05 (p=0.79); and rating of AmE / exposure to AmE: r=0.24, p>0.05 (p=0.12).

[119] Since none of the informants indicated that they had experienced TynE when being educated abroad or living abroad, exposure to TynE was null and was subsequently not included in the data analysis.

The informants' exposure to AusE (mean=1.20) was higher than to both ME (mean=1.07) and PE (mean=0.57), which confirms my earlier claim that Hong Kong people might be becoming more and more familiar with AusE due to the fact that a large number of Hong Kong students and immigrants go to Australia (see Chapter 4, section 4.3).

The results from the bivariate analysis revealed again that none of the correlations reached statistical significance: r=0.13, p>0.05 (p=0.40) for AusE; r=0.01, p>0.05 (p=0.96) for ME; and r=-0.18, p>0.05 (p=0.24) for PE.

Since these findings reveal that no significant correlation exists between the rating of a variety and exposure to it (except for HKed as discussed above), the informants' familiarity with the English language or with certain varieties of English is unlikely to have had a significant effect on their evaluations of any of them.

Even though a limited number of previous studies have investigated the factor of familiarity with English (e.g., Candler 2001; S. Poon 2007; for more details see Chapter 4, section 4.5), these studies were generally concerned with the effect of familiarity on peoples' recognition of an accent. Therefore, we lack data with which to compare the results obtained in the current study. One study, however, i.e. McKenzie (2006), did correlate exposure and attitudes amongst 558 Japanese subjects. He concluded that previous exposure to English did have a significant effect on the evaluations of certain varieties of English amongst his informants. It thus seems that we cannot generalise regarding the effect of accent familiarity on people's attitudes. Importantly, however, the sample of the current study is relatively small with just 44 cases in total and larger numbers might reveal significant correlations. Hence, the investigation of this variable with a much larger sample of Hong Kong speakers, especially with informants from a range of different socio-demographic profiles, might be an interesting area for future research (see also Chapter 7).

6.1.3 The variable of cultural identity

Before I present the details of my analysis regarding the effect of cultural identity on attitudes, there are some interesting descriptive findings to report from the data. Please note that the informants were asked to state whether they perceived

themselves as a) 'Chinese', b) 'Hongkonger', c) 'Hong Kong Chinese', or d) 'Other'. As shown in Figure 6.1, the majority of the informants (45.5%) chose 'Hongkonger' as their cultural identity. This result confirms the finding from previous studies (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3) which reveal that nowadays Hong Kong people tend to prefer a distinctive Hong Kong identity.

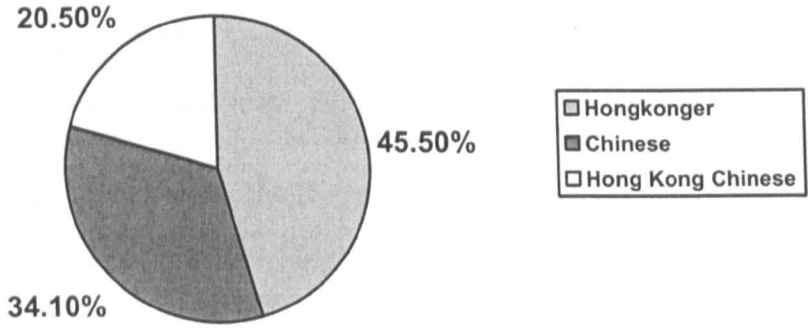

Figure 6.1 The informants' perceptions of their cultural identity

Interestingly, in the current study, more informants tended to perceive themselves as Chinese (34.1%) rather than as having a dual Hong Kong-Chinese identity (20.5%), which runs contrary to the finding of Bolton and Luke (1999), as well as that of Lai (2005: 380). One possible explanation for this is that the data collection for the current study was conducted in January of 2008, which was the year of the Beijing Olympic Games. The fact that the capital city of mainland China was hosting this international event seemed to instil some pride in people and a sense of the honour of being a Chinese.[120] Another possible explanation is that Hong Kong has now been reunited with mainland China for more than ten years. Since 1997, the Hong Kong people – especially those informants who grew up in the post-colonial era – have had more exposure to Chinese history and Chinese cultural heritage, which, in turn, promotes the national identity, namely 'Chinese'. For example, they are able to learn more about mainland China through the mass media, as with the celebration

[120] Early in 2004, large-scale research had already found that the achievements of Chinese athletes in the 2004 Athens Olympic Games had a significant influence on the construction of national identity amongst Hong Kong students (details can be seen in the original report on the website of Hok Yau Club). It is therefore unsurprising to see Hong Kong people appearing proud that mainland China hosted the 2008 Olympic Games.

activities on the national day,[121] or through the school curriculum, for instance, in the subject of General Studies in primary and middle schools.[122] All these factors might influence the informants' perception of their own identity as Chinese rather than Hong Kong-Chinese. In fact, according to a large-scale research study conducted by the Hong Kong National Education Centre, between 2007 and 2009, the statement 'I am Chinese' was agreed to by 96% of students attending primary and junior middle schools, which is much higher than those who agreed with the statement 'I am a Hong Kong Person'.[123] This result further confirms that the younger generation of Hong Kong are aware of and subscribe to a national identity.[124]

However, previous surveys (Lau 2000: 259) showed interesting social trends underlying the establishment of cultural identity. More females preferred to identify themselves as Hongkongers than males. Furthermore, the more educated a person is, the more likely he/she is to see him/herself as a Hongkonger rather than as a Chinese or Hong Kong-Chinese. Participants who were born in Hong Kong were also more inclined to call themselves Hongkongers. In the current study, the fact that all informants were university students with the same level of education made it impossible to examine the possible sources of differences in cultural identity amongst my respondents.

Nevertheless, my descriptive findings appear to support the previous reports (see Table 6.9), namely, female informants (11 out of 44) and those who were born in Hong Kong (19 out of 44) are more likely to identify themselves as 'Hongkongers'.

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[121] According to my own personal communications (in 1997 and 2006-2009), the fact that some Hong Kong people were not aware as to why they had a holiday on 1st October in 1997 has now changed in that most people now know the date to be that of the Chinese national day.

[122] More information with regard to this subject can be found on the Education Bureau of HKSAR website.

[123] The results of this research were reported in a newspaper, Hong Kong *WenWei Po*. Unfortunately, I cannot find the original research report from the National Education Centre in Hong Kong.

[124] The reader should bear in mind that this was a piece of research conducted by the government rather than by independent researchers. It might be worthwhile for future researchers to carry out a similar study, in order to see if the responses are the same when people know the survey they are filling out is not government-backed.

Table 6.9 Descriptive results for cultural identity according to gender and place of birth

		Cultural Identity			Total
		Chinese	Hongkonger	Hong Kong-Chinese	Chinese
Sex	Male	9	9	4	22
	Female	6	11	5	22
Total		15	20	9	44
HK as the place of birth	Yes	12	19	9	40
	No	3	1	0	4
Total		15	20	9	44

The Chi-Square Tests, however, show that the effects of gender ($r=0.91$, $df=2$, $p=0.63$, >0.05) or 'Hong Kong as the place of birth' ($r=3.47$, $df=2$, $p=0.18$, >0.05) on the choice of cultural identity do not reach statistical significance, probably due to low token numbers. Therefore, it is too early to conclude that the factors of informants' gender or place of birth does indeed affect their choice of cultural identity.

The following sections will show the results of an examination of the effects of informants' perceptions of their cultural identity on their evaluations of the eight varieties of English and of the four HKE speakers respectively.

First, a MANOVA was conducted in order to investigate the effects of differences in the informants' perceptions of their cultural identity on their evaluations of the eight varieties of English. The dependent variables are the informants' average ratings of the eight varieties of English on 21 personality traits. The independent variable, cultural identity, is composed of three groups: Chinese, Hongkonger and Hong Kong Chinese.

Before examining the MANOVA results, it is worth pointing out that the descriptive data (see Appendix 10) show that the informants who identified themselves as 'Hong Kong Chinese' seem to give high ratings to most of the varieties of English, including RP, AmE, AusE, TynE, HKed and ME. It is possible that informants who perceive themselves as having hybrid identities (in the case of the current study, the identities of 'Hong Kong-Chinese') have a more tolerant attitude towards different varieties of English.

Box's Test was not significant (p= 0.31, >0.05) and Levene's Test exceeded 0.05 for the eight varieties of English, which indicated no violation of the assumption. The MANOVA was thus allowed to proceed. It showed that although there are differences in the average ratings for the eight varieties of English depending on cultural identity, as discussed above, no significant overall effect was found between the responses of the three groups: F(8, 27)=1.31, p>0.05 (p=0.28); Roy's Largest Root=0.39; partial eta squared=0.28, which indicates a modest effect size.

Next, I conducted a MANOVA to examine the effects of the perception of cultural identity on average ratings of the four speakers of HKE, namely HKed 1, HKed 2, HKbr 1 and HKbr 2.[125] This test was intended to investigate the possibility of HKE being a linguistic symbol for Hong Kong people. The Box's Test result was not significant (p= 0.82, >0.05) and Levene's Test exceeded 0.05 for all four speakers, which indicates that no violations had occurred. The results from the MANOVA show no overall significant effect between the responses of the three groups: F(4, 37)= 2.41, p>0.05 (p=0.07); Roy's Largest Root=0.26; partial eta squared=0.32, which suggests a moderate effect size.

From the above two analyses, it may be concluded that differences in the informants' perceptions of their cultural identity did not have a significant effect on their evaluations of varieties of English, including the two varieties of HKE – HKbr and HKed.

The result of this research is important since it seems to contradict the findings of previous studies that individuals usually display evaluative preferences for their own local variety when they have pride in their membership of a social group (Giles and Coupland 1991: 43). For example, the study of Flores and Hopper (1975) suggested that people who associated themselves closely with Mexican identity had a preference for Mexican-American speech styles. However, in the current study, although a group of informants tended to choose the unique identity of Hongkonger

[125] The means and standard deviations of the evaluations for the four speakers of HKE according to cultural identity are detailed in Appendix 11.

to differentiate themselves from other ethnic Chinese groups, this tendency did not make a difference in their attitudes towards HKE and the other varieties of English. One possible explanation for this is that Hong Kong people are going through the early stage of recognising this local variety, HKE. It will take time for them to acknowledge it and perceive it as a valued linguistic symbol of the Hong Kong identity. Indeed the relatively positive attitudes towards HKed, especially in terms of solidarity, support this hypothesis. In particular, it would be worthwhile conducting a longitudinal study which focused on the interplay between cultural identity and attitudes towards HKE (see also Chapter 7).

6.1.4 The correlation between socio-economic status and informants' evaluations

This section presents an analysis of the correlation between the factor of socio-economic status and the average ratings of the eight varieties of English. I set up a complex socio-economic index which was computed on the basis of a range of variables such as parents' occupation, housing type, etc. The questionnaire collected information on socio-economic status via the following questions:

14. What is your housing type (the house which you and your family are currently living in)?
    a) Privately owned flat
    b) Privately rented flat
    c) Public rental flat
    d) Public subsidised sale flat

15. When did your father leave school and start work?
    a) After Form 4
    b) After Form 5/6
    c) After college/university study
    d) After postgraduate study

i. What is your father's occupation? (or his occupation before he retired)
   Please state_____

ii. What is the nature of your father's occupation? Please select
    a) Managers and administrators
    b) Professionals
    c) Associate Professionals
    d) Clerks
    e) Service workers and shop sales workers
    f) Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
    g) Craft and related workers
    h) Plant and machine operators and assemblers

i) Elementary occupations
j) Unclassified

16. When did your mother leave school and start work?
    a) Form 4 or before Form 4
    b) After Form 5/6
    c) After college/university study
    d) After postgraduate study

i. What is your mother's occupation? (or her occupation before she retired)
Please state_____

ii. What is the nature of your mother's occupation? Please select
    a) Managers and administrators
    b) Professionals
    c) Associate Professionals
    d) Clerks
    e) Service workers and shop sales workers
    f) Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
    g) Craft and related workers
    h) Plant and machine operators and assemblers
    i) Elementary occupations
    j) Unclassified

Table 6.10 shows the descriptive data relating to overall socio-economic status with a minimum score of 5 and a maximum score of 16.

Table 6.10 Overall socio-economic status

N	Valid	43
	Missing	1
Mean		8.63
Mode[126]		6.00(a)
Std. Deviation		2.65
Minimum		5.00
Maximum		16.00

A bivariate analysis was conducted separately to examine whether a correlation exists between the informants' overall socio-economic status and their evaluations of the eight varieties of English. For six varieties there was no significant interaction between the informants' socio-economic status and their evaluations of the variety – the factor of socio-economic status did not significantly influence the informants'

[126] Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown.

attitudes towards most varieties of English.[127] However, two correlations achieved statistical significance, namely RP (r=-0.38, p=0.01, <0.05) and HKed (r=-0.31, p=0.04, <0.05). In other words, the higher the socio-economic status of the informants, the lower the ratings they gave to RP and HKed. It is unknown why only RP and HKed were negatively correlated with overall socio-economic status. A possible explanation is that the higher class people might reject HKed since they might well be aware how non-Inner Circle it is. But they might also not feel the need to aspire to RP which is negatively associated with colonial history. Moreover, the fact that none of the other varieties was positively correlated with socio-economic status makes the only two negative correlations look like random significances, as mentioned in section 6.1 (also discussed in detail in Chapter 7).

As mentioned in Chapter 4, section 4.5, the differences in socio-economic status amongst the informants are mainly to be found in their family background, i.e., the educational level and occupation of their parents and the type of housing they live in. However, despite the informants' differences in socio-economic status, it remains possible that these factors may have had little impact upon their attitudes since the informants had been living within the same social milieu as university students for several years and had established local peer-based networks that enforce norms which were quite different from those of their parents. It would therefore be simplistic to determine the socio-economic level of a student on the basis of his/her parents' status alone. Nevertheless, since the current study concentrates on language attitudes rather than on an investigation of students' social stratification, I do not explore this issue in detail. This might be an area for future in-depth research (see Chapter 7).

Another plausible explanation for the fact that no correlation was found to exist between attitudes and socio-economic status could be that 'class consciousness has been generally very low' in Hong Kong (Bolton 2003: 62). Certain areas of China

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[127] AmE (r=-0.27, p= 0.08, >0.05), AusE (r=-0.04, p=0.12, >0.05), TynE (r=-0.08, p= 0.62, >0.05), HKbr (r=-0.07, p=0.65, >0.05), PE (r=0.20, p=0.21, >0.05), ME (r=0.04, p= 0.80, >0.05).

have a culture of 'emphasis on business and trade'[128] owing to their own local tradition of successful development of economics, and Hong Kong is one of these areas.[129] 'When the economy expands rapidly, the social structure becomes looser and new positions are created which are now open to competition.' (Lui and Wong 2000: 44) In addition, the rapid development of the economy has created opportunities for Hong Kong people to 'cross class boundaries and to advance up the social ladder' (*ibid.*). This development has been facilitated by structural changes in the economy which have created opportunities for 'a significant portion of the people of Hong Kong to move to class positions different from their fathers' (*ibid.*).

Thus, on the one hand, the traditional culture of 'emphasis on business and trade' has meant that class consciousness is low in Hong Kong. Success in trading and business can bring wealth to local people and subsequently helps them to climb up the social ladder. Class origins never present an insuperable barrier to upward social mobility since people can use entrepreneurship as a strategy to upgrade their social class. On the other hand, rapid economic development usually creates higher social mobility because of the quick flow of capital (Lau 2000). The fact that a person is wealthy and has a high social status does not necessarily mean that the next generation will retain that same status in the social hierarchy, since people can make or lose money in a relatively short time. As a consequence, Hong Kong does not have a high awareness of status, which may be one reason why socio-economic class is not related to people's attitudes towards English accents.

In the above sections, the main effects of four social variables on the informants' evaluations of varieties of English have been discussed: gender, familiarity with English (i.e., medium of instruction, education abroad and overall exposure to English), cultural identity and socio-economic status. Generally speaking, none of

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[128] In Chinese, '重商文化' (*Zhòng Shāng Wén Huà*) can be broadly translated as 'a culture which emphasises business and trade', since 'shāng' is a very general word for all kinds of business activities.

[129] More precisely, Canton has been regarded as one example of the 'emphasis on trade' culture. Hong Kong was part of Canton before the Opium Wars and has always been associated with business and trade. Indeed, Hong Kong society is commonly perceived as having inherited this tradition and representing the 'emphasis on business and trade' culture.

these social variables was found to have an effect on the ratings of varieties of English. The following sections will detail informants' responses to the accent recognition question and the effects of different recognition rates on the evaluations of varieties of English.

6.2 Recognition of the speakers of varieties of English

As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.3, a variety/accent recognition item was included in order to investigate how accurately and consistently the informants could identify the different varieties of English. This is also particularly important to the current study since there are certain varieties of English (e.g., TynE) to which the Hong Kong informants are conjectured to have had very little exposure. Analysing the results obtained from a variety recognition item will also be helpful in determining the potential influence that either misidentification or correct identification can have on the informants' evaluations of the varieties of English in question.

After hearing every guise, the informants were asked the following question in order to determine whether they could identify each speaker's place of origin:

1. Where do you think the speaker comes from?

In this subsection, analyses of the data obtained for the general recognition rates of the eight varieties of English will first be presented. I shall then examine the findings relating to the recognition rates of the provenance of the 16 speakers in more detail, using the categories identified in Kachru's concentric circles model. Finally, the effects of variety identification on informants' evaluations of the 16 speakers representing different English varieties will be analysed at the end of this section.

6.2.1 General recognition of the eight varieties of English

In order to determine the recognition rates for the eight varieties of English, all the informants' responses to the variety recognition question were computed and categorised as 'correct' or 'incorrect' identifications.[130]

The percentages of correct and incorrect recognition rates for all eight varieties of English are shown in Table 6.11.[131]

Table 6.11 Identification rates for all eight varieties of English

Ranking	Variety of English	Correct identification	Incorrect identification	Missing data
1	HKed	75%	23.9%	2.1%
2	HKbr	71.6%	27.25%	1.15%
3	RP	40.9%	60.25%	0
4	AmE	37.5%	62.5%	0
5	PE	31.8%	65.45%	0
6	TynE[132]	21.6%	78.4%	0
7	ME	19.3%	80.7%	0
8	AusE	3.4%	96.6%	0

There are marked differences amongst the informants' recognition rates of the eight varieties of English. The two varieties of HKE, HKed and HKbr, were clearly those most accurately identified by the informants, with the correct identification rates being 75% and 71.6% respectively. This finding confirms that of previous studies (e.g., Bolton and Kwok 1990; Luk 1998; Candler 2001; S. Poon 2007), that Hong Kong informants are most aware of the distinctiveness of HKE and are able to distinguish HKE from other varieties of English. This finding gives reason to assume that the relatively positive evaluations of HKed in terms of solidarity (see section

[130] The issue remains, of course, that it may be problematic to decide upon the exact nature of an informant's response in this regard since the open-ended nature of the question itself allowed informants considerable latitude. This issue will be discussed in detail in section 6.2.2.

[131] Since there were two speakers for each variety of English, the general recognition rate for a variety was computed by averaging the rates for both speakers of that variety.

[132] No respondents were able to identify Tyneside English with the exact label 'Tyneside English'. Answers interpreted to be 'correct' in this case, therefore included 'UK', 'England' or 'Britain' (for details, see section 6.2.2).

5.3.2) are likely to be a genuine reflection of Hong Kong informants' positive attitudes towards this variety, because the recognition rate for HKed was the highest.

The recognition rates for RP (40.9%), AmE (37.5%) and PE (31.8%) show that a moderate number of informants were able to identify these varieties, a finding that reflects a fairly high degree of familiarity among the Hong Kong informants with these three varieties. Hong Kong people have had a relatively high level of exposure to RP, as a standard UK accent, especially during the colonial period when English played a dominant role in Hong Kong society (see Chapter 2, section 2.2). AmE has also become well known amongst Hong Kong people, mainly because of the prevalence of American popular culture, such as American news, films and soap operas in the English language media in Hong Kong, which will be further discussed in Chapter 6. The most plausible explanation for a fairly good recognition rate of PE is the large number of Filipino domestic helpers in Hong Kong, which means that the informants are familiar with the variety of English they speak (see Chapter 4, section 4.3). Leung (2010) also notices that children who have input of PE through Filipino maids or nannies can recognise this accent better – but the children's speech seems not to be influenced by this input.

The recognition rate of ME (19.3%) is very low since many of the informants confuse it with other varieties from South-east or East Asia. To some extent, the phonological features of ME also appear in other East Asian varieties of English. For instance, monophthongisation exists in Singapore English (Deterding *et al.* 2005), the replacement of /ɵ/ with [s], /ð/ with [d] occurs in HKE (see Chapter 2, section 2.4), and there is an absence of vowel reduction which is also the case with HKE (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; see also Chapter 2, section 2.4). This is confirmed by the fact that many answers, such as 'Singapore', 'Malaysia' and 'Japan', are given when the informants are asked to state where the speaker is from (see Chapter 6, section 6.2).

However, another variety of English from the Inner Circle, AusE (3.4%), seemed to be difficult for the informants to identify. One possible explanation for this is that, for Hong Kong informants who are non-native speakers of English and not linguistics specialists, AusE sounds quite similar to RP since both are non-rhotic

varieties. It might therefore be difficult for them to differentiate it from RP. In fact, 36.4% and 43.2% of the informants misidentified AusE 1 and AusE 2 respectively as speakers from the UK (details in section 6.2.2).

Some informants completely misidentified the provenance of all speakers, opting for 'Hong Kong' as a default (see section 6.2.2). Therefore, the informants had been asked an additional question:

4. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?

This additional question focused on two aspects of the investigation, namely, whether the informants were able to distinguish the four speakers of HKE from the speakers of the other varieties. It might also tell us whether they were aware of the difference between HKbr and HKed since HKbr has more HKE phonological features and it is relatively easier to be seen as the variety spoken by most Hong Kong people than HKed. The average results for the eight varieties are shown in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12 Results for the 8 varieties of English from the question: 'Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?'

Variety of English	Yes(%)
HKbr	81.8
HKed	76.2
ME	25.0
TynE	19.3
AusE	14.75
RP	12.5
PE	11.4
AmE	10.25

HKbr and HKed are varieties which are thought to be spoken by most Hong Kong people. It is significant that there is a large difference between the percentages obtained for the two varieties of HKE and those obtained for the other varieties of English. As a result, HKE seems to have been recognised as a distinctive variety by the majority of respondents. More informants perceive HKbr as being the variety that most Hong Kong people speak rather than HKed, which confirms my claim that HKbr demonstrates more HKE features and is closer to an idealised HKE phonology (for more details, see Chapter 2, section 2.4). On the other hand, the percentages for HKbr and HKed are quite similar. Hence, it is still difficult to conclude whether

respondents were able to distinguish HKbr from HKed at this stage. Therefore, I will next examine the results obtained for the 16 speakers in detail in order to confirm whether the informants were able to distinguish HKbr from HKed (see Table 6.15, section 6.2.2).

ME followed HKbr and HKed as the third choices of the variety that most Hong Kong people speak, which confirms the similarity between HKE and ME mentioned in Chapter 4, section 4.3. AusE, RP and AmE are varieties that were believed not to be spoken by most Hong Kong people. Only 14.75% of respondents thought that AusE is spoken by Hong Kong people, while only 12.5% and 10.25% believed that RP and AmE are spoken by Hong Kong people. PE was selected by the smallest number of respondents. PE and HKE also share some similarities in terms of phonology since they belong to South-east Asian varieties of English (see Chapter 2, section 2.4), but the informants were relatively certain that this is not the variety they speak.

The next section will further examine recognition rates in order to investigate the extent to which informants could differentiate between HKE and other Englishes, and between those which are within Kachru's Inner Circle and those which are not.

6.2.2 Analysis of identifications of 16 speakers

A number of problems arose when attempting to categorise informants' responses as 'correct' or 'incorrect', because the variety recognition question used in the current study was an open rather than a multiple choice type of question, which meant the informants were allowed to give any answer. This presented certain difficulties for the summary or analysis of the data as various labels/answers were given to refer to the same variety of English. In order to overcome these difficulties and to present the results in a systematic way, I decided not to impose an unrealistically narrow interpretation of the informants' responses. It is for this reason that a range of responses are accepted as correct identifications. For example, 'P. R. China', 'mainland China' and 'mandarin Chinese' were all accepted as appropriate identifications of the provenance of ME 1 and ME 2.

RP 1, for example, is labelled 'UK', 'Britain' or 'England'. These terms do not express exactly the same connotation as 'Received Pronunciation' from a linguistic perspective. Nonetheless, these labels/answers are probably the closest most Hong Kong people come to an accurate identification of this variety. The 'English English' or 'British English' they acquire at school or hear in the media is usually very close to RP and it is not surprising if, for my informants, this variety represents England or Britain as a whole. I have thus decided to count these answers as correct identifications.

None of the respondents recognised 'Tyneside English' due to the fact that TynE is very unfamiliar to Hong Kong people who have limited, if any, exposure to the different regional varieties of English spoken in the UK. Thus, various labels are employed to refer to it, e.g., 'Britain', 'UK' or 'England', which I counted as correct. For this reason, the percentage of correct identifications for TynE 1 and TynE 2 seem relatively high, being 20.5% and 22.7% respectively (see Table 6.13).

Table 6.13 summarises the results for the recognition of each speaker.

Table 6.13 Summary of identification of the place of origin of each speaker

Variety of English	Correct (%)	Incorrect (%)
HKed 1#	77.3	20.5
HKed 2	72.7	27.3
HKbr 1#	68.2	29.5
HKbr 2	75	25
AmE 1	31.8	68.2
AmE 2	43.2	56.8
RP 1	50	52.3
RP 2	31.8	68.2
PE 1*	34.1	61.4
PE 2	29.5	70.5
TynE 1	20.5	79.5
TynE 2	22.7	77.3
ME 1	4.5	95.5
ME 2	34.1	65.9
AusE 1	4.5	95.5
AusE 2	2.3	97.7
Notes:	# Missing data: 2.3%. * Missing data: 4.5%.	

Apart from the relatively high recognition rates for the four speakers of HKE, the rest of the recognition rates appear to be quite low, being at or below 50%. Note the

significant difference between the correct identifications of ME 1 and ME 2 (4.5% and 34.1% respectively), which I will discuss in more detail below.

In order to show a clear pattern of the informants' recognition of each speaker, I have represented these identification rates according to Kachru's three concentric circles model – the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. Table 6.14 shows the identification rates for each speaker when classified via this model. So we can have an overall picture if the informants can identify these speakers according to Kachru's model.

Table 6.14 Identification rates according to the three concentric circles

Speaker of variety of English	Inner Circle English (%)	Outer Circle English (%)	Expanding Circle English (%)	Unsure
RP1	87.3	2.3	9.1	2.3
RP 2	70.4	18.2	9	2.3
AmE 1	52.2	25	22.7	0
AmE 2	76.3	2.3	11.4	0
AusE 1	75	11.4	13.6	0
AusE 2	79.5	11.4	9.1	0
TynE 1	45.5	22.7	29.5	2.3
TynE 2	43.1	22.7	34.1	0
HKed 1	13.6	79.6	4.5	2.3
HKed 2	6.8	79.5	13.6	0
HKbr 1	4.6	72.7	20.5	2.3
HKbr 2	6.8	79.5	13.6	0
PE 1	9.1	65.9	18.2	6.8
PE 2	9.1	52.2	36.3	2.3
ME 1	56.5	27.3	13.6	0
ME 2	20.4	29.6	50	0

With the exception of ME 1, most informants were able to identify all speakers accurately according to the three concentric circles model. The speakers of RP, AmE and AusE were recognised by the vast majority of informants as spoken varieties of English from the Inner Circle. Although no one recognised the two speakers of TynE, a few of informants were still able to identify them as speakers from the Inner Circle rather than from the Outer or Expanding Circles. It also appears that the majority of informants did not have much difficulty in recognising that the speakers of HKed, HKbr and PE were from the Outer Circle.

ME 2 was recognised by 50% of the informants as a speaker from the Expanding Circle, whereas most of them (56.5%) misidentified ME 1 as a speaker from the Inner Circle.[133] The low correct recognition rate for ME 1 is likely to be associated with the speaker herself, since she demonstrates a comparatively strong influence of American English (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1) Therefore, the informants were likely to misidentify ME 1 as a speaker from the US, 27.3% thought ME 1 was from the US, whereas only 6.8% perceived ME 2 in the same way.

Table 6.15 below shows the results for the 16 speakers related to the question: 'Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?' In general, the percentages of 'yes' for the four speakers of HKE are far higher than for the others.

Table 6.15 Results for the 16 speakers for the question: 'Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?'

Variety of English	Yes (%)	No (%)	Missing(%)
HKed 1	75.0	25.0	n/a
HKed 2	77.3	18.2	4.5
HKbr 1	84.1	11.4	4.5
HKbr 2	79.5	18.2	2.3
RP 1	20.5	79.5	n/a
RP 2	4.5	95.5	n/a
AmE 1	20.5	75.0	4.5
AmE 2	0	93.2	6.8
AusE 1	15.9	84.1	n/a
AusE 2	13.6	86.4	n/a
TynE 1	25.0	72.7	2.3
TynE 2	13.6	84.1	2.3
PE 1	6.8	86.4	6.8
PE 2	15.9	79.5	4.5
ME 1	18.2	75.0	6.8
ME 2	31.8	63.6	4.5

[133] The fact that many informants misidentified ME1 as a speaker from the Inner Circle did not make a significant difference to the evaluations of ME1. A One-way ANOVA, F (2, 42) =0.223, p >0.05 (=0.80) indicates that the identification of ME1 as a speaker from the Inner, Outer or Expanding circle did not significantly affect the informants' ratings of ME1. In other words, (mis)identification did not have an effect on the informants' evaluations of ME 1 (for details see section 6.2). The relatively high rating of the ME variety based on the verbal-guise test was thus not caused by the misidentification of ME1, which indicates that the positive evaluations of ME are a genuine reflection of the informants' positive attitudes towards this variety.

There is a dramatic drop in percentages between HKE varieties and other varieties of English. This suggests that informants are able clearly to distinguish HKE from other varieties of English. Although there is no remarkable difference in the percentages obtained for the two speakers of HKbr and the two speakers of HKed, the percentages for the two HKbr speakers are still somewhat higher. Thus, nearly 80% of informants thought that HKbr 1 and HKbr 2 have the accents which most Hong Kong people speak with (84.1% and 79.5% respectively, see Table 6.15), while around 75% of the informants believed that HKed 1 and HKed 2 speak with the accents of most Hong Kong people (77.3% and 75% respectively). It therefore seems that the informants are able to tell the difference between HKbr and HKed. The following sections will provide a specific analysis of some interesting results revealed in Table 6.14 and Table 6.15.

As discussed above, the current study used an open-ended question, rather than a multiple choice question, which can limit the types of misidentification possible (Lindemann 2003: 353). An open-ended question, which does not provide a predetermined list of choices, has a tendency to lead to low recognition rates owing to the idiosyncratic nature of the responses. Therefore, when I had collected all the responses which did not refer to the exact place of origin of the varieties, I further classified them into the following categories:

1. 'Other South-east Asia' encompasses responses such as Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, etc., places in the general area where English is used as a second language, excluding Hong Kong.
2. 'Other Outer Circle' indicates responses such as Nigeria, Cameroon[134], where English is used as a second language.
3. 'Other East Asia' consists of responses such as Japan, Korea, South Korea, etc., places where English is spoken as a foreign language.
4. 'Other Europe' includes responses such as Germany, France, Russia, etc., places where English is spoken as a foreign language.
5. 'Unsure' refers to the missing data or to responses that were too vague to be classified into any of the above categories, such as 'non-English', 'Africa'.

[134] All the country names or labels used here are taken from the respondents' answers.

The full details of informants' answers for the provenance of RP 1, RP 2, AmE 1, AmE 2, PE 1 and PE 2 according to the categories stated above may be found in Appendix 12. Here, I will discuss results obtained for ME, TynE and AusE in full since the recognition rates of these three varieties came as the last three in the ranking. I will also focus on speakers of HKed and HKbr to provide a complete picture of informants' recognition of their own accents.

As shown in Table 6.14, there are important differences between the recognition rates for the two speakers of ME. Figure 6.2 reveals that 27.3% misidentified the provenance of ME 1 as the US, which confirms the fact that ME 1 exhibits an American accent. A number of informants perceived her as a speaker from either the UK (20.5%), Canada (6.8%) or Australia (2.3%). By contrast, only a small number of the respondents misidentified the provenance of ME 2 as the Inner Circle, with 9.1% for the UK, 6.8% for the US and 4.5% for Australia. This means that 56.5% versus 20.4% perceived the provenance of ME 1 and ME 2 respectively as the Inner Circle. On the other hand, there was a tendency for ME 2 to be misidentified as a speaker from other East Asian countries, such as Korea and Japan, or other European countries, such as France and Holland. Overall, 13.6% versus 50% were able to categorise ME 1 and ME 2 as speakers from the Expanding Circle.

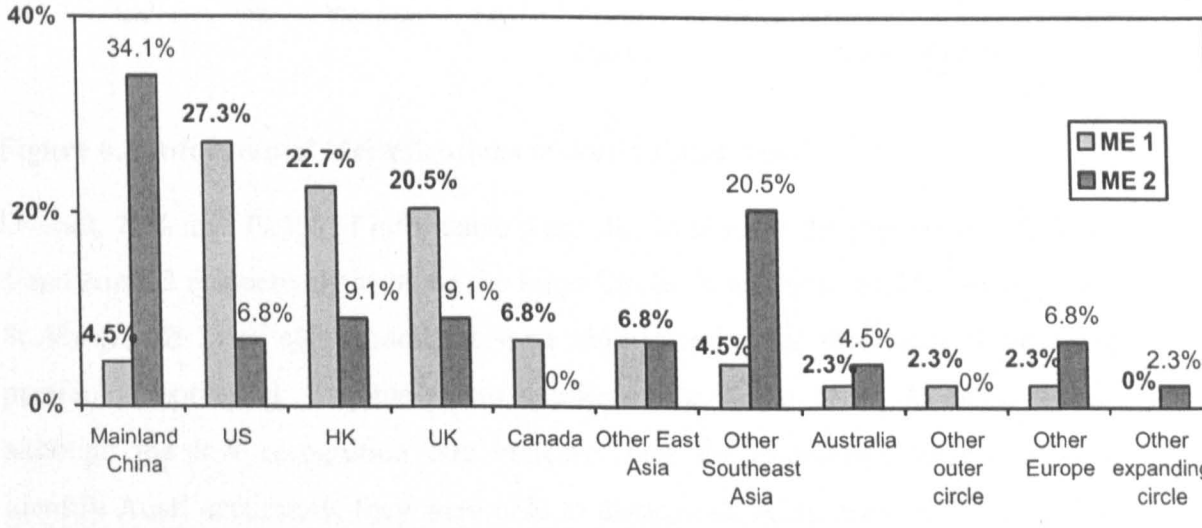

Figure 6.2 Informants' identifications of ME 1 and ME 2

A number of informants perceived the provenance of ME 1 as Hong Kong (22.7%, see Figure 6.2). However, the majority (75%) stated that most Hong Kong people do not speak English like she does (see Table 6.16 below). Only 9.1% misidentified the

provenance of ME 2 as Hong Kong (see Figure 6.2), which is confirmed by the fact that 63.6% stated that most Hong Kong people do not speak English like she does.

Table 6.16 Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?

	Yes	No	Missing
ME 1	18.2%	75%	6.8%
ME 2	31.8%	63.6%	4.5%

Figure 6.3, below, shows why the two speakers of AusE received the lowest recognition rates amongst the speakers of the four varieties of English from the Inner Circle (4.5% for AusE 1 and 2.3% for AusE 2). Indeed, a large number of informants identified the provenance of the two AusE speakers as the UK (36.4% and 43.2%), the US (25% and 29.5%) and Canada (9.1% and 4.5%).

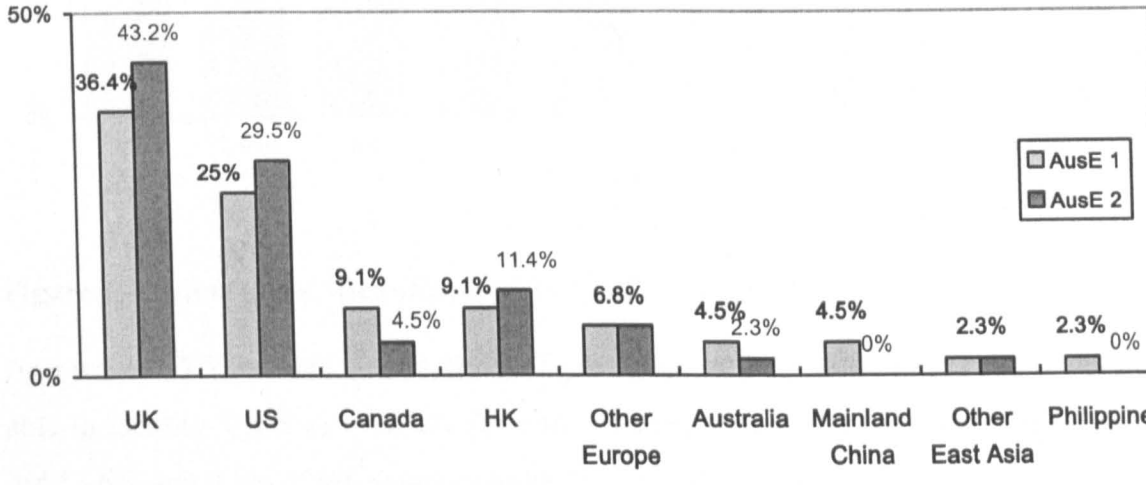

Figure 6.3 Informants' identifications of AusE 1 and AusE 2

Overall, 75% and 79.5% of informants were able to identify the provenance of AusE 1 and AusE 2 respectively as being the Inner Circle. In addition, 84.1% (AusE 1) and 86.4% (AusE 2) of all respondents were able to recognise that most Hong Kong people do not speak like these two speakers (see Table 6.17). In other words, although the low recognition rate indicates that the informants were unable to identify AusE accurately, they were able to distinguish AusE from HKE since they realised that it is not the variety most Hong Kong people speak.

Table 6.17 Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?

	Yes	No	Total
AusE 1	15.9%	84.1%	100.0
AusE 2	13.6%	86.4%	100.0

I indicated previously that various responses were counted as correct identifications for TynE 1 and TynE 2 and, as a result, both speakers received relatively high recognition rates (20.5% and 22.7% respectively). In fact, some informants misidentified the provenance of TynE 1 and TynE 2 as the US (15.9% and 11.4%), Australia (6.8% and 4.5%) or Canada (2.3% and 4.5%), although all of these fall into the category of the Inner Circle (see Figure 6.4).

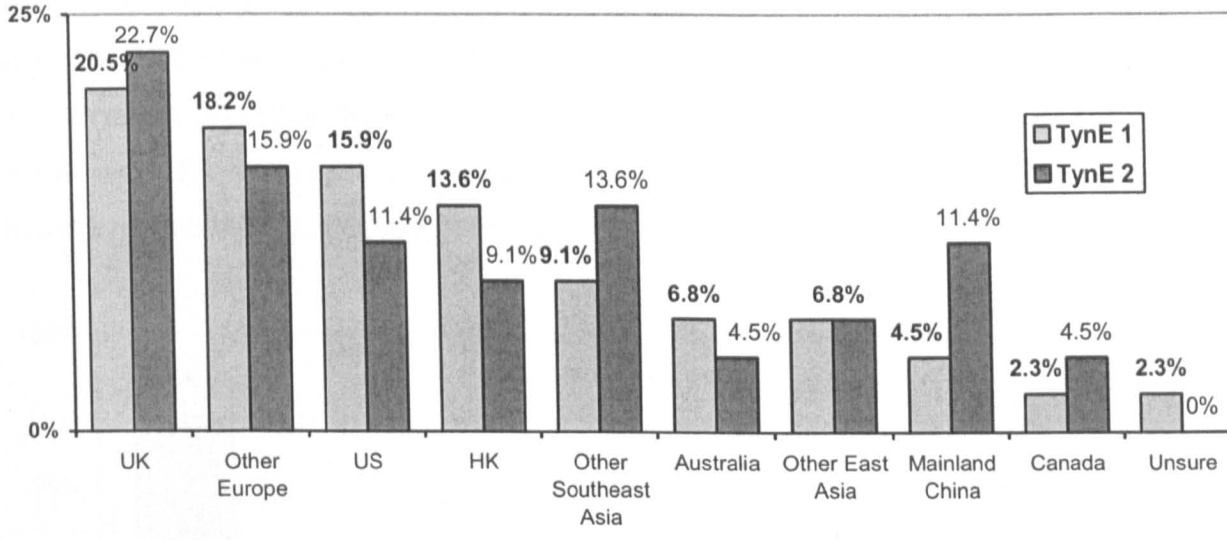

Figure 6.4 Informants' identifications of TynE 1 and TynE 2

As a result, 45.5% (TynE 1) and 43.1% (TynE 2) of my informants respectively were able to identify TynE as a variety from the Inner Circle. On the one hand, not only did 13.6% and 9.1% of informants misidentify the provenance of TynE 1 and TynE 2, respectively, as Hong Kong (see Figure 6.4), but 25% of the informants also thought that most Hong Kong people speak English like TynE 1.

On the other hand, the negative responses of 72.7% (for TynE 1) and 84.1% (for TynE 2) demonstrate that the informants were, nevertheless, able to recognise that most Hong Kong people do not speak English like they do (see Table 6.18). These results indeed demonstrate the informants' unfamiliarity with TynE, which leads them to have relatively contradictory views of the TynE speakers.

Table 6.18 Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?

	Yes	No	Missing
TynE 1	25%	72.7%	2.3%
TynE 2	13.6%	84.1%	2.3%

Although the four speakers of HKE were accurately identified by most informants, it may be worth examining the informants' identifications in detail in order to gain a better understanding of their evaluations of HKE.

Figure 6.5 below shows the specific classifications of the provenance of the two HKed speakers. Although the majority of informants recognised the HKed guises as Hong Kong speakers, 2.3% and 6.8% misidentified the provenance as other South-east Asian countries such as Singapore. Overall, 79.6% and 79.5% classified the provenance of HKed 1 and HKed 2 respectively as the Outer Circle. A small number of informants identified their provenance as the UK (9.1% and 4.5%) or the US (4.5% and 2.3%, see Figure 6.5). Thus 13.6% and 6.8% misidentified HKed 1 and HKed 2 respectively as speakers from the Inner Circle.

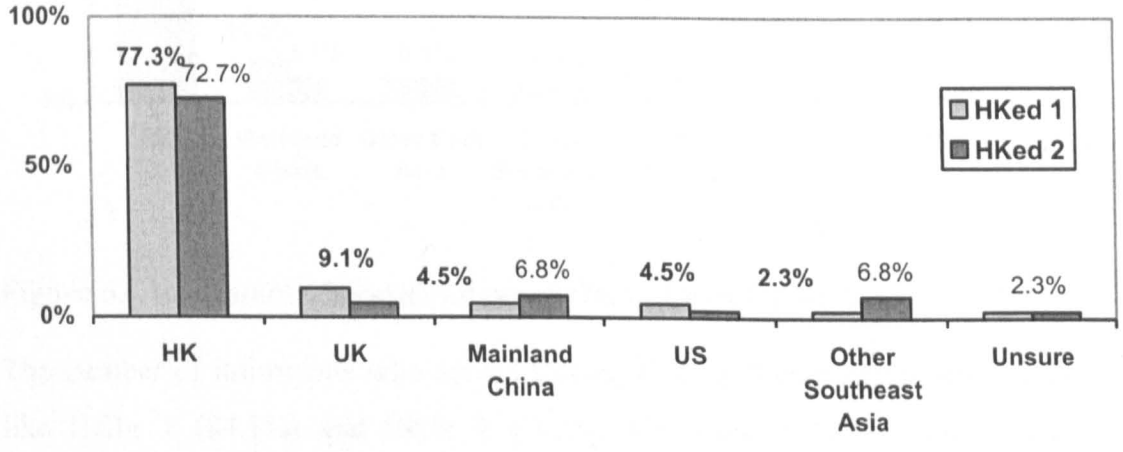

Figure 6.5 Informants' identifications of HKed 1 and HKed 2

However, the high recognition rates for the two speakers of HKed are confirmed by the fact that the vast majority agreed that most Hong Kong people speak English like HKed 1 (75%) and HKed 2 (77.3%, see Table 6.19). Note that the provenance of these two speakers was occasionally perceived as places other than Hong Kong, which made some informants think that Hong Kong people do not speak English like them.

Table 6.19 Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?

	Yes	No	Missing
HKed 1	75%	25%	0
HKed 2	77.3%	18.2%	4.5%

Figure 6.6 reveals that a large number of informants accurately identified the provenance of HKbr 1 (68.2%) and HKbr 2 (75%) as Hong Kong. In comparison with the results for the two speakers of HKed, the provenance of HKbr 1 and HKbr 2 is very unlikely to be misidentified as the Inner Circle (4.6% and 6.8% respectively). 4.5% and 4.5% misidentified HKbr 1 and HKbr 2 respectively as speakers from other South-east Asian countries, such as Singapore. Overall, however, 72.7% and 79.5% were able to identify the provenance of the two speakers as the Outer Circle.

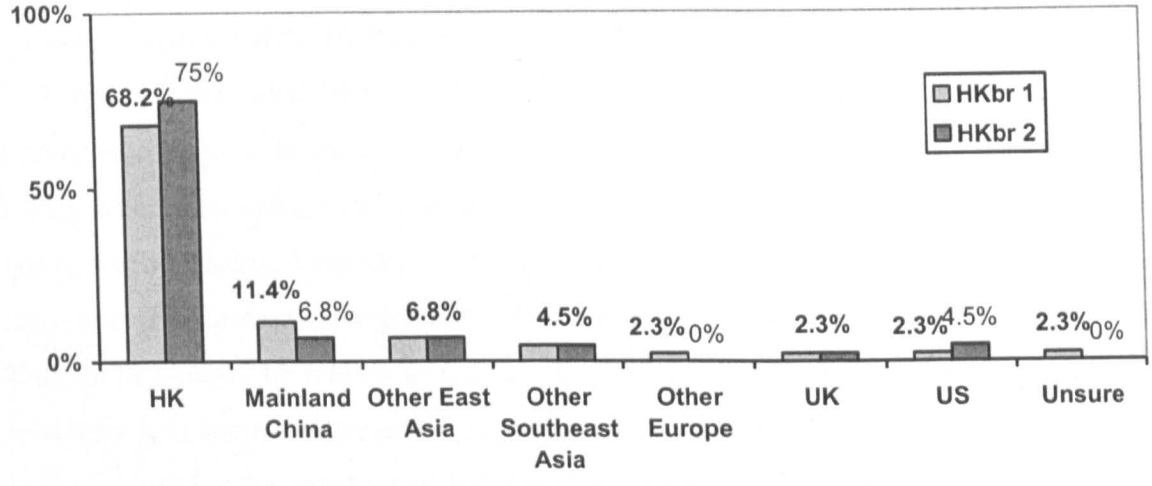

Figure 6.6 Informants' identifications of HKbr 1 and HKbr 2

The number of informants who agreed that most Hong Kong people speak English like HKbr 1 (84.1%) and HKbr 2 (79.5%, see Table 6.20) is higher than the percentage responses for HKed 1 (75%) and HKed 2 (77.3%).

Table 6.20 Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?

	Yes	No	Missing
HKbr 1	84.1%	11.4%	4.5%
HKbr 2	79.5%	18.2%	2.3%

Generally, although there are misidentifications of the provenance of HKed and HKbr, most informants were not only able to recognise the HKE speakers, but they were also aware of the fact that the vast majority of Hong Kong people speak English with a Hong Kong accent. If we examine these results in conjunction with the informants' answers to the choice of norm which were investigated through asking the speaker's suitability for the post of radio announcer (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.1), there appears to be a conflict between choice of linguistic norm and behaviour. In comparison with RP or AmE, Hong Kong people do not like HKE and do not

perceive it as the norm, but they have to admit that most of them actually speak HKE. I will discuss this issue in detail in Chapter 7, section 7.1.1.

6.2.3 The main effects of (mis)identification on informants' evaluations

In this section, I will investigate whether the differences in identifications (i.e., correct or incorrect identification) found in the accent recognition item of the questionnaire have a significant effect on the average evaluations of the 16 speakers of the eight varieties of English. According to the descriptive data (see Appendix 13), six out of eight speakers of Inner Circle English (RP 1, RP 2, AmE 1, AusE 1, AusE 2, TynE 1) were rated more positively when they were correctly identified. This finding seems to indicate that the informants tended to rate a variety of English highly when they recognised it as an Inner Circle variety, since this is the perceived norm in Hong Kong. Importantly, the results for PE 1 and PE 2 show the opposite tendency. If informants recognise PE, they are less likely they are to rate it positively. This finding might be related to the fact that the speakers of PE in Hong Kong have relatively low socio-economic status. Generally, it is difficult to find a clear pattern in the results for the speakers of HKE and ME so it is difficult to draw conclusions from them without conducting appropriate statistical analyses.

Therefore, separate one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were conducted in order to determine whether there was a pattern in the results, namely, whether (mis)identification had a significant effect on informants' attitudes towards the 16 speakers.[135] The dependent variables are the informants' average ratings of each speaker. The independent variable, identification, is composed of two groups: correct identification and incorrect identification. The results of the one-way ANOVA tests show that, except for two speakers, no significant overall effect was found between the group of correct identifications (see) and the group of incorrect ones for the other 14 speakers.[136] Generally, (mis)identification had no significant effect on informants'

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[135] It was necessary to conduct 16 separate ANOVA tests since there were differences in informants' recognition rates according to every speaker (i.e., differences in the independent variables).

[136] RP 1: $F(1, 40)=1.53$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.223$). AmE 2: $F(1, 41)=2.27$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.14$). AusE 1: $F(1, 41)=0.08$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.78$). AusE 2: $F(1, 42)=1.24$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.27$). TynE 1: $F(1, 42)=3.02$, $p>0.05$

evaluations of most varieties of English. However, for speaker RP 2 and AmE 1, the results of the one-way ANOVA demonstrated a significant overall effect for identification on the average ratings ($F(1, 42)=4.99$, $p<0.05$ ($p=0.03$) and $F(1, 42)=5.42$, $p<0.05$ ($p=0.03$) respectively). It is not difficult to understand this effect, i.e. the informants who correctly recognised the provenance of these two speakers tended to give higher ratings than those who did not successfully identify their provenance, which to some extent confirms the prestige enjoyed by RP and AmE in Hong Kong society. However, the reader should bear in mind the fact that the effect of (mis)identification failed to reach significance for the rest of the 14 speakers.

As detailed in section 6.2.2., the correct recognition rates for ME 1 (4.5%) and ME 2 (34.1%) are significantly different and most informants misidentified ME 1 as a speaker from the Inner Circle. However, the average ratings of ME 1 are similar whether recognition was correct or incorrect. The informants who identified ME 1 correctly produced a mean score of 3.48 and those who misidentified ME 1 produced a mean score of 3.43. Also, the above One-way ANOVA test confirms that the misidentification of ME 1 as other Inner Circle English does not have an effect on informants' ratings.[137] In other words, the results of the verbal-guise test successfully reveal informants' attitudes towards ME 1 without being affected by misidentification.

After I presented the results of the effects of informants' socio-demographic characteristics on their attitudes, the next chapter will provide an in-depth discussion of these results.

($p=0.09$). TynE 2: $F(1, 42)=0.31$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.58$). HKed 1: $F(1, 40)=0.08$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.78$). HKed 2: $F(1, 42)=0.39$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.54$). HKbr 1: $F(1, 41)= 1.78$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.19$). HKbr 2: $F(1, 42)= 0.41$, $p>0.05$ ($p=0.53$). PE 1: $F(1, 39)=1.59$, $p>0.05$, ($p=0.22$). PE 2: $F(1, 42)= 0.88$, $p>0.05$, ($p=0.35$). ME 1: $F(1, 41)=0.02$, $p>0.05$, ($p=0.88$). ME 2: $F(1, 42)= 2.99$, $p>0.05$, ($p=0.09$).

[137] Even when the mean ratings of ME 1 were further investigated by classifying them into 'identifying ME 1 as the Inner Circle' and 'identifying ME 1 as other circles', the mean ratings were still similar. The informants who identified ME 1 as being from the Inner Circle produced an average rating of 3.433 and those who identified ME 1 as being from other circles produced an average rating of 3.426. The One-way ANOVA found that the effect of misidentification as Inner Circle did not reach statistical significance either.

Chapter Seven Discussion

In Chapters 4 and 5, the results of the data analysis were presented and preliminary comments on these findings were offered. Chapter 6 contains a more in-depth discussion of these findings as well as cross-examinations of each sub-section of the research instrument with particular reference to the research questions presented in Chapter 2 (and represented below). The discussion synthesises my findings in order to provide a review of the results obtained here and also to compare them with previous research.

7.1 Research Question One: What attitudes do Hong Kong people hold towards different varieties of English?

Since people's attitudes tend to be latent and covert, an indirect method of attitude measurement, namely, the verbal-guise technique, was employed to investigate Hong Kong informants' perceptions of eight varieties of English: RP, AmE, AusE, TynE, PE, ME and two varieties of HKE – HKed and HKbr. Using a 5-point semantic-differential scale, this research instrument sought to collect judgements regarding the personality of the speakers representing these varieties on 21 traits. The intention here (as in other research based on similar methods) was to use the results of the test – i.e., where the individual speakers of each variety were rated according to this scale – as an indirect measure of Hongkongers' attitudes towards the varieties they are associated with.

RP, AmE, AusE, TynE, PE, ME, HKed and HKbr are ranked in descending order of evaluation in terms of status and solidarity, as stated on the next page. The presence of a line indicates that there is a significant difference ($p<0.05$ or $p<0.01$) in the informants' evaluations. In the results overall, as well as in those relating specifically to solidarity traits, the significant differences divide the eight varieties into three groups. By contrast, the results for status traits are differentiated into four groups. I will discuss these results as follows:

	Overall		Status		Solidarity
1	AmE	1	AmE	1	AmE
2	RP	2	RP	2	RP
3	AusE	3	AusE (<0.05)	3	HKed
4	ME	4	ME	4	ME
5	HKed (<0.01)	5	HKed	5	AusE (<0.05)
6	TynE	6	TynE (<0.05)	6	TynE
7	PE (<0.01)	7	PE (<0.01)	7	PE (<0.01)
8	HKbr	8	HKbr	8	HKbr

Within the overall differences between the eight varieties of English, the three standard varieties of English from the Inner Circle and two from Asia: i.e., ME and HKed, are grouped together. In the next level, similar ratings are given to TynE, an alien variety for the Hong Kong informants, and PE, a variety with which they are familiar and which is easily stereotyped with negative connotations given the social roles Filipinos play locally. HKbr is rated significantly lower than the other varieties and thus it is perceived most negatively by the informants.

These results are consistent with those of the limited number of previous studies that have focused on social evaluations of English in Hong Kong, and which also demonstrate that Hong Kong people favour Inner circle varieties of English over HKE (e.g., Bolton and Kwok 1990; Luk 1998; Candler 2001; S. Poon 2007). Also confirming previous results, the Hong Kong informants demonstrate their support for HKed since their overall responses to this variety are not significantly different from their responses to the three standard varieties of English from the Inner Circle. This result leads me to suggest that HKed is perceived almost as positively as standard varieties of English. At least on the basis of these results, it seems possible to claim that HKed has the potential to develop into a standard variety of English in Hong Kong.

A more unexpected finding, however, is that HKbr received even more negative evaluations than PE. It has been repeatedly claimed that Hong Kong people have a stereotypical perception of HKE as a poor and non-standard variety of English, which means that this local variety is held in very low esteem. Indeed, their internalised negative attitudes towards their own variety are likely to be the reason why Hong Kong people rate HKbr even lower than a variety of English that is ostensibly rated negatively within their community, PE. The initial explanation for

this result might be that Hong Kong informants suffer from the 'linguistic self-hatred' observed amongst speakers of English with a New York accent (Labov *et al.* 2006: 329), as well as in other studies of, for instance, the speech in Montreal (Lambert 1967), Glasgow (Macaulay 1975) and Dublin (Edwards 1979). The same kind of self-hatred has also been reported for another South-east Asian variety of English - Colloquial Singapore English (Wee 2004: 1023, Lim 2009: 57). Indeed, the unacceptability of Colloquial Singapore English was made plain in a speech by their Prime Minister indicating that it is for 'loser[s]' (Gupta 1998), as well as by the existence of the 'Speak Good English Movement (SGEM)' which is now well established there (Wee 2004: 1021-22). The vast majority of Singaporeans endorse the government's negative attitude towards the colloquial variety (Wee 2004: 1021-22; Cavallaro and Chin 2009). Labov *et al.* (2006) pointed out that an important reason for this phenomenon in New York is the strong pressure 'towards conformity with middle class norms of speech' (Labov *et al.* 2006: 331). In the case of Hong Kong, it seems likely that the strong inclination to model native English accents – such as RP and AmE – and pressure towards conformity with such varieties are a reflection of the negative attitudes towards HKE. Hong Kong is still a mainly exonormative territory where Inner Circle varieties of English are preferred and encouraged, a claim that is confirmed in the results relating to the informants' preference for a particular accent (see section 7.1.1), as well as by my personal communication with Hong Kong students (2007-2009). As Boyle (1997) pointed out: 'Whereas other places were concentrating on level of expertise rather than country of origin, Hong Kong was following a British-is-Best policy and through the British Council hiring all the teachers for the EETS[138] from UK'. Other researchers (e.g. Luk 1998; Lam 2007) echo this opinion by pointing out that Hong Kong students prefer a standard accent since it has enjoyed prestige for a long time in Hong Kong. The pressure to conform to Inner Circle English is reflected both in their preference for such accents as well as their dislike of their own variety.

[138] EETS stands for the Expatriate English Teachers Scheme which Hong Kong Government's Education Commission employs to import native-speaker English teachers to Hong Kong.

However, the situation in Hong Kong seems to be more complex. The findings presented here indicate an obvious preference for at least one variety of HKE, namely HKed. This is especially true with respect to solidarity since HKed was upgraded from fifth to third place on these traits ranking even higher than AusE. HKbr, however, stays at the bottom of the ranking. In other words, the self-loathing that is apparent in certain responses needs to be seen in the context of other attitudes towards the two varieties of HKE examined here: the higher rating for HKed and the most negative attitudes towards HKbr demonstrate that the extent to which each variety incorporates indigenous accentual features plays an important role in the attitudes attached to this variety, a finding which is confirmed by previous studies (e.g., Giles 1972; Ryan 1973; Brennan *et al.* 1975; Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles and Coupland 1991: 39). Indeed, the fact that HKbr and PE are evaluated lower than TynE further proves that a heavily-accented variety spoken by a non-native speaker is evaluated less positively than an Inner Circle variety (e.g., Ryan *et al.* 1977; Cargile 1997; Dalton-Puffer *et al.* 1997).

Indeed, the higher rating of HKed in terms of solidarity to some extent confirms the results reported widely in the literature, namely that non-standard varieties are usually favoured in terms of solidarity, especially when the evaluators are speakers of that variety (e.g., Giles 1970; Steward *et al.* 1985; Bayard *et al.* 2001; Hiraga 2005; see Chapter 3, section 3.3.1). Moreover, this result supports the hypothesis that one of the local varieties of HKE is perceived as a marker of the Hong Kong identity and I will return to this point later.

Interestingly, the current study finds that, amongst standard varieties of English speech, AmE receives higher ratings than RP in Hong Kong as far as both status and solidarity dimensions are concerned. The finding of a more positive rating for AmE than RP has not been reported in previous studies based in Hong Kong, and rarely evidenced in the UK or US (e.g., Giles 1970; Steward *et al.* 1985; Hiraga 2005; for further details, please see Chapter 3, section 3.3.1). However, the relatively higher rating of AmE seems should not come as a complete surprise given that RP, as an attitudinally and pedagogically preferred model, is gradually being dropped in favour of the American model (Kachru 1997: 220; Bayard *et al.* 2001). It also seems to provide evidence for the fact that AmE is starting to replace RP owing to the

popularity of American culture and indicates a preference for varieties of American English over varieties of British English which has been observed in previous research (e.g., Munro 2007; McKenzie 2006; Hu 2004; Bayard *et al.* 2001). Indeed, in his study of Chinese students, Hu (2004: 30-31) found that the preference for AmE over RP seemed to be related to 'the fact that the vast proportion of Chinese students going overseas went to the United States; the long line of immigrants from China to the States...and the predominance of Americans among English teachers in China'. Importantly, like Bayard *et al.* (2001), he pointed out that a possible explanation for favourable responses to the American accent is the predominant influence of the American media, which provides ample exposure to the American accent and seems to be the main contributing factor towards the holding of positive attitudes to this variety. Bayard *et al.* (2001) go on to suggest that the impact of the global broadcasting media on attitudes should be further examined in non-native English-speaking countries, in order to confirm whether or not a change in the position of dominance held by RP and the probable replacement of RP by the American accent is underway.

In view of the above, the current study included a question that asked how often the informants watch or listen to American English TV programmes. The bivariate analysis test did not show a significant correlation between the responses to the question and the average rating of AmE (a coefficient of $r=-0.01$, $p>0.05$). Importantly, this finding only indicates that amount of exposure to AmE through the media is not significantly related to the informants' evaluations of AmE. It does not, however, give any indication of the potential effect of the dominance of American programming on Hong Kong informants' attitudes towards American English. This question might be an interesting area for further research.

Hong Kong's English-language broadcasting media have always been in the minority:[139] there are far fewer English language channels than there are Chinese,

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[139] Please note that Hong Kong Cable Television Limited (HKCTV) was launched in 1993 carrying English channels such as BBC World Service, CNNI, ESPN etc. Satellite Television Asian Region Lit (STAR TV) started to transmit 28 channels in eight languages including English in 1991. Although

and only a few viewers watch these channels. However, the English channels have steadily increased the number of imported programmes they broadcast, and these are mainly American programmes (Chan 2000: 327). There are two free English channels (TVB Pearl and ATV World) offered by the two Hong Kong television stations.[140] The former[141] broadcasts many popular American programmes, such as *House*, *ER*, *Without a Trace*, *Heroes* and *Prison Break*, which are currently being shown in America and series such as *Friends*, *The X-Files* and *Sex and the City*, which have been shown in the recent past. It also broadcasts American films and news programmes, such as *20/20 News*, made by ABC. The situation is the same for ATV World, which airs a number of American programmes: e.g., *American Idol*, *Private Practice* and *60 Minutes* (Lam 2007: 17). Chan (2000: 328) pointed out that each channel broadcasts a half-hour daily national news programme produced by a US network such as CBS or ABC. It may be difficult to conclude that American programming dominates in Hong Kong on the basis of the facts stated above. However, the large quantity of American TV soaps, news programmes and films does at least demonstrate the ubiquitous presence of American English in the Hong Kong media. As Bolton and Kwok (1990) noted, American English is always heard on television. This may be the most plausible reason for the fact that informants hold more positive attitudes towards AmE than they do to RP (S. Poon 2007: 48).

This study is the first to compare attitudes towards ME with those towards a range of other varieties of English. Note that this variety is rated relatively highly in terms of both status and solidarity, providing strong evidence for the likelihood that ME will develop as a distinct variety of Chinese English. Interestingly, ME is rated consistently highly, coming just below the three standard varieties of English, i.e., RP, AmE and AusE in the overall ranking, as well as being placed fourth for status and solidarity traits. This result is especially interesting since it shows little support

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the English channels seem to be widely available, viewers of English programmes are fewer in number than those of Chinese programmes. For example, a 1998 survey showed that 4.6 per cent of 503 randomly selected households surveyed watched TVB Pearl, an English channel, and only 0.8 per cent watched ATV World, the other English channel (Guo *et al.* 1998).

[140] The two television stations are TVB and ATV. Hong Kong had only these two stations until 1991.

[141] All the information was obtained from the official channel websites of TVB Pearl and ATV World. This is also mentioned in Chan (2000: 327).

for previous findings. Lindemann (2005) has shown that native English speakers such as Americans evaluated 'Chinese' English negatively when it was used in the classroom. He and Li (2009) found that Chinese subjects rated 'China English' lower than 'standard English'. Similarly, previous research suggests that Hong Kong people's attitudes towards Mandarin are relatively negative (Lai 2005 and 2007). My findings, however, indicate that this negative attitude is not transferred to ME. On the contrary, the current study provides some evidence for the positive attitudes of Hong Kong people towards ME, which might suggest a relatively prosperous future for 'China English'. One of the explanations for this result, especially in a Hong Kong context, is the fact that Hong Kong people might associate ME with speakers of relatively high socio-economic status, especially those emigrating to Hong Kong through the *Admission Scheme for Mainland Talents and Professionals* and the *Admission of Mainland Students Graduated from the University Grants Committee (UGC)-Funded Institutions in Hong Kong* after 1997 (for more details see Chapter 4, section 4.3), under which a number of mainland Chinese emigrate to Hong Kong every year. As shown in the names of the schemes, these new emigrants are professionals or elite personnel working in Hong Kong.

In addition, Hong Kong educational institutions compete fiercely with their mainland counterparts for high quality students, which is rapidly increasing the number of mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong: "In 2006 Hong Kong...recruited 1,300...mainland undergraduate students...and most are fee-paying ones" (Li 2007: 16). Considering the University of Hong Kong alone, 10,230 and 12,000 mainland Chinese students applied for around 300 undergraduate places in 2006 (Gao 2008) and 2008 (Gao and Trent 2009: 145) respectively, and most successful applicants are self-financing. The number of research postgraduates from mainland China holding scholarships at this university increased from 893 to 1,455 in 2000/01 (Li and Bray 2007: 798). As mentioned earlier, there are eight universities in Hong Kong: two of them have policies of English as the medium of instruction, while the others use a mix of English and Cantonese (Li and Bray 2007: 798). It is very likely that these

Mandarin speaking[142] students have to use English (normally ME) to communicate with Hong Kong people, at least in the early days after their arrival. Since neither mainland Chinese emigrants nor university students are stereotyped negatively, it is unsurprising to observe that Hong Kong people have more tolerance towards ME.

In summary, the results of the current study correspond to the findings of other similar investigations involving Hong Kong subjects in that HKE, particularly HKbr, is generally evaluated negatively. In contrast to the negative attitudes towards HKbr, however, HKed received positive evaluations, especially in the solidarity dimension. The particularly negative attitude towards HKbr, which is evaluated even lower than a familiar lower status accent, PE, and an unfamiliar one, TynE, further confirms that there is linguistic self-hatred in the Hong Kong community. The differential ranking between these two varieties confirms that the degree of accentedness influences people's attitudes, since Hked was ranked much more highly than HKbr. The attitudes towards HKE will be further discussed in section 7.3.

7.1.1 Attitudes towards RP, AmE, HKed and HKbr

Since RP, AmE, HKed and HKbr have usually been included in previous studies conducted in Hong Kong (e.g., Bolton and Kwok 1990; Luk 1998; S. Poon 2007), it is worthwhile comparing the results for these three varieties obtained in the current study with the findings of previous research. This section presents the results from the test based on stimuli – concentrating on two issues namely the choice of a norm and the preference for a variety. It also compares the findings relating to preference for particular varieties based on stimuli with the results obtained through explicitly asking about the informants' perceptual preferences for particular varieties.

First, Table 7.1 summarises the responses to the question – 'How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?' – which was asked after the informants had

[142] Please note that if Chinese emigrants or students are from Guangdong province, they are usually able to speak Cantonese.

listened to every stimulus. It should be noted that the results shown here include RP, AmE, HKed and HKbr only. The full version can be seen in Chapter 5, section 5.4.

Table 7.1 Choice of norm based on stimuli: RP, AmE, HKed and HKbr

Variety of English	Mean	Std. Deviation
RP	3.36	.87
AmE	3.35	.99
HKed	2.47	.81
HKbr	1.56	.73

In contrast to the results in the previous section, which reveal AmE to be the clearly favoured variety, the results of the radio announcer question demonstrate that RP is still rated significantly above AmE ($r=0.42$, $p<0.05$) though its mean score is only slightly higher than that of AmE. In other words, RP is still the English language norm favoured by the Hong Kong informants, at least for official functions such as media announcements. HKed is much less favoured by the informants and HKbr is the least favoured. As such, my results are similar to those of Bolton and Kwok (1990).

Table 7.2 presents a comparison between both sets of results (in order of preference)[143] and shows that RP is rated consistently most positively with AmE just behind. HKed is rated higher than HKbr.

Table 7.2 Comparison between results from current study and that of Bolton and Kwok (1990)

Current Study	Bolton and Kwok (1990)[144]
RP	advanced RP
n/a	near-RP
AmE	mild US
HKed	mild HK*
HKbr	broad HK
n/a	broad US#

*	The definition of HKed in the current study corresponds to the concept of 'mild Hong Kong accent' in the study of Bolton and Kwok (1990, see section 2.3). Thus 'mild HK' is equated to 'HKed' here.
#	Bolton and Kwok (1990) neither offered any suggestions nor did they provide any possible reasons as to why broad US was rated the lowest.

[143] Bolton and Kwok (1990) employed only six speakers in their study, whereas the current study included 8 varieties of English.

[144] All the names of English varieties are quoted directly from Bolton and Kwok (1990).

Both sets of results confirm that the linguistic norm in Hong Kong continues to be mainly exonormative (Sewell 2009: 37), which means that Inner Circle varieties are relied on for language correctness and appropriateness. This result corroborates the findings obtained in a piece of qualitative research by Tsui and Bunton (2000), which showed that no deviation from a native speaker norm occurred. Namely, the English language standards of Hong Kong have been unchangeably dependent on and determined by RP or AmE. However, the fact that RP or AmE remain the English language norm does not necessarily imply that Hong Kong has not been in the process of developing its own linguistic norm through local varieties of English. In fact, the relatively positive attitude towards HKed observed in the verbal-guise test (see section 7.1) provides evidence to support the idea that Hong Kong might be in the process of 'norm-developing' through increasing acceptance of HKed, even though the development of such an acceptance is still in its infancy. The current study offers up to date information with regard to this issue.

The comparison between the results for choice of norm and those for accent recognition (see section 7.2) demonstrates the complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour (see discussion in Chapter 3, section 3.1.3): people's attitudes are usually expressed or observed in their behaviour; however, previous research has suggested that attitudes cannot always account for people's behaviour (e.g., La Piere 1934; Wicker 1969; Hanson 1980). As seen in the current study, similar patterns emerged in the verbal-guise test and choice of norm, namely that people perceive and react to RP, AmE and HKE in predictable ways. Nevertheless, the vast majority of informants were able to recognise four speakers of HKE and admitted that most Hong Kong people speak like those four speakers (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2).[145] In other words, there is a conflict between the choice of RP or AmE accents as the norm and the practice of most Hong Kong people in speaking HKE. This seems to be associated with linguistic insecurity (Labov 1973). In Labov's study, subjects were asked to select the form of a word they thought was correct and indicate the form of

[145] As a reminder to readers, when informants were asked 'do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?', 75% and 77.3% said 'yes' to HKed 1 and HKed 2, 84.1% and 79.5% answered 'yes' to HKbr1 and HKbr 2.

the word they usually used. The more cases in which these two choices differ, the more likely it is that the subject feels insecure about his/her language use. In the current study, the results show a relatively large difference between the informants' choice of a normative or 'correct' form of accent and the accent they usually use/hear in daily life. Thus, Hong Kong informants seem to have high levels of insecurity about their own variety, namely HKE, which, in turn, results in their dislike of it, as discussed earlier.

To put this discussion in a larger frame, Table 7.3 summarises the responses to the question of preference for an English variety across four studies in chronological order. Only the current study investigated the informants' preference for an accent based on both stimuli and perceptions. The other three concentrated solely on respondents' perceptual preferences. Since RP, AmE and HKE (including HKed and HKbr) were included in both the present and previous research, the focus of this section is on these varieties alone.[146] The results of the current study show a similar pattern to those of S. Poon (2007), namely, Inner Circle varieties of English are the most preferred, whereas the local variety is the least favoured. In addition, on the basis of the findings described here and in S. Poon (2007), RP is likely to be the most favoured Inner Circle variety of all. However, Candler (2001) and Bolton and Kwok (1990) found that HKE seemed to be more highly favoured than AmE, which runs counter to the findings reported here and in S. Poon (2007).

Table 7.3 Preference for a variety based on stimuli and perceptions across four studies

Current study based on stimuli	Current study based on perceptions	S. Poon (2007) based on perceptions	Candler (2001) based on perceptions	Bolton and Kwok (1990) based on perceptions
RP	RP	RP	British accent	British native-speaker
AmE	AmE	AmE	Hong Kong accent	Hong Kong bilingual
HKed	HKE	HKE	American accent	North American native-speaker
HKbr				

[146] The full version of these results presented in full in Chapter 4, section 4.4.2.

It is likely that the above results, especially the differences in the preferences for HKE and AmE, confirm the more recent prevalence of American culture, as discussed above. The contradiction between the results obtained for the perceptual preference of AmE and HKE earlier (Bolton and Kwok 1990; Candler 2001) and those obtained more recently (S. Poon 2007; and the current study, collected in 2008) is good evidence for the view that the dominance of American culture has increasingly influenced people's perceptions of AmE. Based on the above results, even though HKE seems to be least preferred by the informants, the reader should bear in mind that a number of informants stated a preference for HKE in intimate situations, such as talking with friends (see Table 5.16 in Chapter 5, section 5.4.2). The overall result that HKE won out over RP and AmE in intimate situations confirms the relatively high rating of HKed in terms of solidarity as stated earlier, as well as showing the possibility that HKE will eventually develop into a local variety of English in the local community.

To sum up, the informants' responses to questions regarding the choice of norm and preference for a variety are generally consistent with the results obtained in the verbal-guise test. The Inner Circle varieties are usually evaluated positively and HKed is rated in the middle of the ranking. The negative perception of HKbr is consistent throughout the whole research programme.

I shall now use the work of indexicality (Eckert 2008) and the concept of indexical order (Silverstein 1996) to further explain the attitude results of HKed, HKbr, AmE and RP. Indexicality is an approach to the study of social meaning in linguistic variation (Eckert 2008: 454) which links a linguistic form with social meaning(s) (Silverstein 1996: 193-229). There are different ranking orders in indexicality: first-order indexicality 'invokes a relationship between linguistic forms and social groups which is taken for granted and given by culture', whereas second-order indexicality 'refers to how speakers or listeners notice, rationalize or frame their understanding of first-order indexicality and then establish a new or non-conventionalised social meaning onto the linguistic form in the local historical context' (Liao 2008: 394-395).

Figure 7.1 shows the orders of indexicality in Hong Kong.

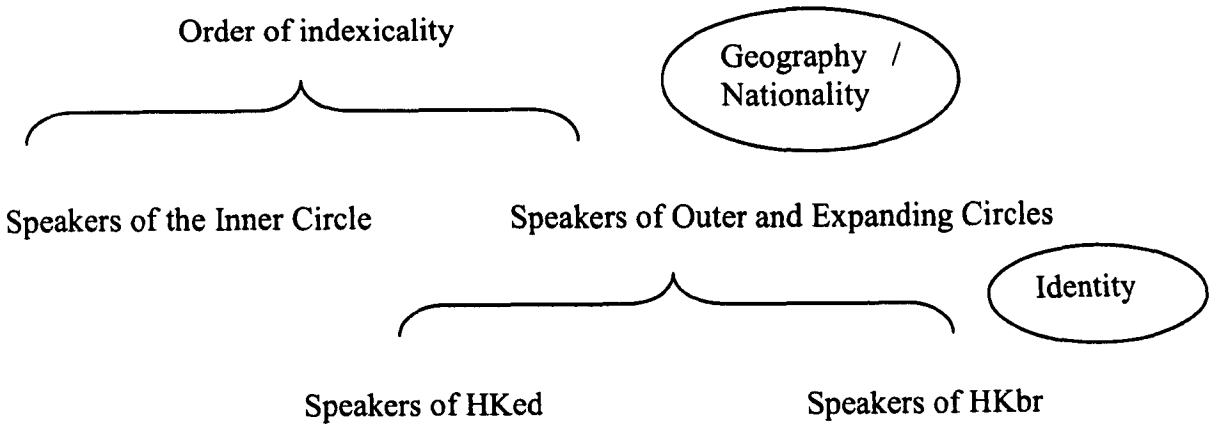

Figure 7.1 Orders of Indexicality in Hong Kong

As meantioned earlier (see also Chapter 2), standard varieties of English from the Inner Circle have been preferred and encouraged in Hong Kong. As a result, speakers of Inner Circle English have been presupposed to indext the standard, prestige and thus are favoured. On the other hand, speakers from the Outer and Expanding Circles usually index a notion of non-standard and are therefore less preferred. This is what Silverstein (1996) called a first-order indexicality. As discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.5.2 (see also section 7.3), Hong Kong informants admitted that HKE is a part of Hong Kong identity, yet most of them also claimed that they do not want to speak HKE. On the contrary, the majority tended to agree that Hong Kong people should speak English with RP or AmE accent. Therefore, speaking HKed or HKbr has come to indirectly index identity alignment. Speaking HKed, a HKE accent that is close to a standard Inner Circle variety of English, would presuppose indexing a preferred Hong Kong identity. Speaking HKbr, a variety of HKE which has numourous vernacular features, on the other hand, would indext the local Hong Kong identity yet yet it is disfavoured.

7.2 Research Question Two: Are Hong Kong informants able to identify varieties of English?

The questionnaire contained a question which aimed at investigating whether and how consistently the Hong Kong informants were able to identify the eight varieties of English in question. The inclusion of a variety recognition item is considered to be particularly important as it helps to provide a better understanding of the results obtained in the verbal-guise test. The verbal-guise test does not explain whether

informants' evaluations of a variety of English are based on a correct or incorrect identification of that variety. Moreover, the current study focused on eight different varieties of English, some of which the informants might not have had much exposure to, such as TynE. Lack of familiarity with a variety may have led to misidentification, which would affect the reliability and validity of results. Hence, a variety recognition item is a useful check for previous findings, especially in determining whether recognition rates are correlated with evaluations of the individual varieties.

Table 7.4 The recognition rates for the provence of eight varieties of English

Ranking	Variety of English	Correct identification
1	HKed	75%
2	HKbr	71.6%
3	RP	40.9%
4	AmE	37.5%
5	PE	31.8%
6	TynE[147]	21.6%
7	ME	19.3%
8	AusE	3.4%

The above Table 7.4 results show that the informants' recognition rates for the place of origin of the eight varieties were very different. The recognition rates for both local accents, HKed and HKbr, are high (75% and 71.6% respectively), which indicates that the vast majority of informants are aware of the unique phonological features of Hong Kong English (HKE) and are able to distinguish HKE from other varieties of English.

Interestingly, HKed seems to have been recognised more easily than HKbr by the informants. The first possible explanation for the high recognition rate of HKed is that the informants are a group of well-educated university students who have had extensive exposure to the educated accent. The variety of English they speak is probably much closer to the educated than to the broad accent. Secondly, some phonological features of HKE more or less overlap with ME or with those of other

[147] As detailed in Chapter 5, section 5.2.2, answers deemed to be correct included 'UK', 'England' or 'Britain'.

South-east Asian varieties of English. For example, the deletion of the dark [l] exists in both HKE and Singapore English (Deterding *et al.* 2008; see also Chapter 2, section 2.4). HKE, ME and Singapore English are likely to demonstrate similar suprasegmental features, such as unreduced stress on repeated information in a sentence (*ibid.*). Although HKbr contains a larger number of phonological features of HKE, it is possible that the informants were confused due to shared features with ME or those of other varieties from South-east Asian countries. Indeed, several informants thought the speakers of HKbr1 and HKbr 2 were from 'Singapore' (N=2 respectively) or from 'Mainland China' (N=5 and N=3 respectively).

An important point to consider is the relatively positive attitudes the informants hold towards HKed in terms of solidarity (see section 7.1), in spite of the fact that they are fully aware that this is a variety from Hong Kong. In other words, the high recognition rate for HKed further confirms the fact that Hong Kong people welcome and are more ready to embrace the local standard variety.

Further analysis was conducted to determine the significance of the effects of identification on the informants' evaluations of the 16 speakers of eight varieties of English (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.3). The results show significant effects for only two speakers: RP 2 and AmE 1. In other words, RP 2 and AmE 1 are evaluated more positively when they are identified correctly than when they are misidentified. This finding suggests that, as far as ratings of two Inner Circle English speakers are concerned, recognition has a positive effect on perceptions of the speakers of these varieties. However, we need to treat this finding with caution since the significant effects might be a Type I error, which I will explain in detail with regard to the methodological implications of the current study in Chapter 8.

However, no significant effects on evaluations of the speakers are found for the identification of the other 14 speakers. In other words, the differences in the ratings of these speakers when they are identified or misidentified do not reach levels of statistical significance. The (mis)identification of the speaker's place of origin did not have any effect on informants' evaluations of that speaker. For instance, a small number of informants identified ME 1 as an American speaker. However, this misidentification was found to have no effect on the informants' ratings since it was rated similarly by both the informants who identified it correctly and those who

misidentified it. The comparatively high ratings of ME observed in the verbal-guise test genuinely reflect the informants' positive attitudes towards this variety. AusE is another good example of the weak effect of identification on the evaluation. Only a few informants were able to recognise AusE though it is rated quite positively, no matter whether it was correctly or incorrectly identified.

The current results seem to confirm the direct connection between variety identification and social stereotypes which has been discussed in other studies. For instance, Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) found that, although listeners misidentified Scottish, southern Irish-English, Ulster English and RP varieties, the biases of listeners who misidentified them were still similar to those who did not. Thus, a variety '...may directly evoke stereotyped responses' whether or not the listener consciously recognises the variety, and subsequently the listener allocates the speaker of the variety 'to a particular reference group' (Milroy and McClenaghan 1997: 9).

Ladegaard's study (1998) obtained similar results when examining Danish subjects' identification and evaluation of eight varieties of English. For example, even though the subjects were not native speakers of English and 90% misidentified Australian English, they still rated Australian English positively on the solidarity dimension, which is a stereotype that is 'traditionally associated with Australia' (Ladegaard 1998a: 267). This direct association between accent identification and stereotypes was also observed in a study by Dailey-O'Cain (1999), which focused on German listeners' identification and evaluation of various German dialects.

Similarly, in the study by Lindemann (2003), the subjects were unfamiliar with Korean-accented English and the majority of them misidentified it as another East Asian accent. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to prove that the (mis)identification had no significant effect on listeners' evaluations. This suggested that subjects were able to fit a variety into the social stereotype connected with the particular group even if they were unable to identify this variety. As Lindemann (2003) points out:

> ...it appears that in identifying nearly all Koreans as belongs [sic] to some stigmatized non-native group, these listeners appear to react to both the actual group represented by the speakers and to the group of which they believe

> these speakers to be a part: a non-native stigmatized group. The low ratings on the language-focused characteristics, not explicitly related to any stereotype, reflect the negative attitudes to these stigmatized groups...In other words, although listeners may not be familiar enough with Korean accents to make a connection between the accent and specific supposed characteristics of the speaker..., they do appear to make a direct connection between the accent and their evaluation of the speaker.

Therefore, the recognition of a variety seems to rely on language use and social groups rather than uniquely on the available linguistic information. In other words, 'the stereotypes of social groups are available whether or not the subjects are consciously aware of the social connotations of a particular variety of speech' (Ladegaard 1998a: 269). As pointed out by Kerswill and Williams (2002: 202), the recognition of a variety is a complex process which is interwoven with a wide range of factors. The evaluation of a variety as 'inherently good' or 'bad' is inevitably based on certain types of sociolinguistic understanding and experience and the recognition of a dialect is necessarily made from 'that same cluster of affective and evaluative processes' (Williams *et al.* 1999: 348).

Generally, the findings of previous studies have suggested that social and cultural connotations, i.e., stereotypes, do play an implicit, rather than an explicit, role in the evaluation, especially when misidentification of a variety occurs. The results of the current study can be explained in a similar way. In other words, informants who cannot recognise a variety are still able to assign that variety to the stereotype attached to it, either consciously or unconsciously.

The low identification rates of AusE and TynE, for example, indicate the informants' unfamiliarity with these particular varieties. Since both AusE and TynE are recognised generally as varieties from the Inner Circle by many informants, it is possible that the informants are able to stereotype AusE with a standard Inner Circle variety, such as RP or AmE. In contrast, it is one possible hypothesis that the linguistic or paralinguistic features of TynE might be linked to certain non-standard varieties of English which the informants have encountered before, either a variety from the media or a variety they happen to know. This probably leads them to stereotype TynE as a non-standard variety of English.

Hence, based on the above discussion, it is possible to validate the use of the verbal-guise technique to investigate people's prejudices, which are usually hidden and difficult to discover. The general consensus seems to be that whether or not the informants are able to identify a variety of English, the stereotype attached to the variety remains the same. Therefore, even if the informants connect the variety with the wrong national and social context, their evaluations obtained from the verbal-guise test still appear to be valid in demonstrating the stereotype imposed on the variety.

7.3 Research Question Three: What are Hong Kong informants' perceptions of HKE?

In section 7.1 the investigation of informants' attitudes towards HKE based on stimuli was presented. These were complemented with open-ended questions in order to further explore the informants' understanding of HKE, the difference between HKed and HKbr, as well as their perceptions of HKE as a part of the Hong Kong identity. In addition, the results from previous studies (e.g., Candler 2001; Pang 2003) and the interviews conducted to select personality traits for the verbal-guise test (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.4) provided information which generates six statements focusing on three aspects of perceptions of HKE: concern over intelligibility, the sense of ownership and the acceptability of HKE to represent the Hong Kong people.

I will discuss the results obtained from the open-ended questions first. Then I will compare these findings with the results from six statements. Table 7.5 summarises the answers to three open-ended questions: '(i) Can you explain what HKE is? (ii) Do you think it is a part of the Hong Kong identity? (iii) Can you tell the difference between HKbr and HKed? What is the difference then?' Please note that it is difficult to put all answers into Table 7.5 owing to the idiosyncratic nature of answers to open-ended questions. For the full version of these answers, therefore, please see the verbal descriptions in Chapter 5, section 5.5.4. I only focus on the quantitative responses of the open-ended questions in order to compare and discuss them with the relevant results of six statements shown in Table 7.6.

Table 7.5 Summary of the answers to open-ended questions

Question 1: Can you explain what HKE is?[148]	Linguistic features 43	English proficiency 2	Speaker of HKE 5	Other 1
Question 2: Do you think it is a part of the Hong Kong identity?	Yes 27		No 17	
Question 3: Can you tell the difference between HKbr and HKed? What is the difference then?	Yes 32			No 10
	Associated with English proficiency 6/44	Associated with British or American accent 9/44	Associated with standard/non-standard accent 5/44	

Table 7.6 Summary of the responses to six statements

	Concern over intelligibility		The sense of ownership of HKE		Acceptability of HKE to represent Hong Kong people	
	Statement 1 (%)	Statement 3 (%)	Statement 4 (%)	Statement 6 (%)	Statement 2 (%)	Statement 5 (%)
Strongly disagree	2.3	0	6.8	11.4	0	31.8
Disagree	31.8	15.9	50	36.4	2.3	43.2
Don't know	9.1	13.6	13.6	15.9	6.8	13.6
Agree	50.0	63.6	18.2	36.4	70.5	11.4
Strongly agree	6.8	6.8	11.4	0	20.5	0

Note:
Statement 1 Hong Kong English is acceptable as long as people can communicate properly with it.
Statement 3 Hong Kong English may be difficult for non-Hongkongers to understand, so it is not good for communication.
Statement 4 Hong Kong English originates from the Hong Kong people, so it can give me the feeling of belonging.
Statement 6 I do not feel that I belong to any English-speaking community, because English is not my native tongue.
Statement 2 As a Hongkonger, I should speak Standard English, e.g., British English or American English.
Statement 5 As a Hongkonger, I should speak Hong Kong English.

[148] The answers can be classified into four categories, as seen in Table 7.6. Since the informants were allowed to answer freely, some answers included information which overlapped across the four categories. This is the reason for the total number of answers being over 44.

Although five informants explain HKE as a variety used by Hong Kong people (Question 1, see Table 7.5), the result for Statement 4 (see Table 7.6) appears that more than half of the informants disagree that HKE, which is a variety originating in Hong Kong, can arouse in them a feeling of belonging. These results indicate that HKE does not give the Hong Kong informants a feeling that the language belongs to them, even though they admit that HKE is a local variety spoken by Hong Kong people.

Two informants connected HKE with poor language proficiency (Question 1, see Table 7.5), which may imply difficulty in using this language in communication. This has been confirmed in the results of Statement 1 and 3 (see Table 7.6) A number of Hong Kong informants had concerns over the intelligibility of HKE and this kind of concern is, in fact, quite common in Hong Kong (Ortmeyer and Boyle 1985; Lam 2007; Kirkpatrick 2007b: 386; Kirkpatrick *et al.* 2008: 359).

The majority of informants agreed that HKE may not be understood by non-Hongkongers and that consequently it is not good for communication (Statement 1, see Table 7.6). They also agreed that they would accept HKE as long as it could be used for proper communication (Statement 3). These results clearly demonstrate a fact that is common amongst most new varieties of English, which is the fear of being unintelligible in international contexts (Kirkpatrick *et al.* 2008: 359). This provides one explanation for the fact that it is rare for these varieties to be promoted as possible linguistic models for language learners. Indeed, the use of a local variety of English as a classroom model is usually minimised or even forbidden (*ibid.*). Since Hong Kong aims to be an international financial and service centre, i.e., 'Asia's world city' (www.brandhk.gov.hk), it is not difficult to appreciate that the international intelligibility of HKE might be a primary concern amongst Hong Kong informants.

In fact, research by Kirkpatrick (2007b: 386) suggests that the concern over intelligibility is unnecessary since 'varieties of English spoken by people whose first language has a tendency towards syllable timing – and Cantonese is one such language – are more easily intelligible in the international arena than are speakers of stress-timed varieties – and these include all native-speaker varieties of English' (see also Smith 1992; Hung 2002b; Bend and Bradlow 2003; Deterding and Kirkpatrick

2006). In addition, Sewell (2009: 40) points out that the following features of HKE - the dental fricative substitutions (usually [f] for /θ/ and [d] for /ð/), dark /l/ vocalisations and the merging of the /æ/ and /e/ vowels - are unlikely to cause a problem for international intelligibility. In other words, HKE should not necessarily be regarded as a variety the use of which may lead to miscommunication. Gupta's (2005: 143) research has demonstrated that Singapore English is perceived as clearer than the British accent and the Singaporean speaker seems to be easier for non-Singaporean listeners to understand than RP is for non-British listeners. It would be worthwhile for future research to conduct a parallel study of the intelligibility of HKE in order to examine whether it is the same for Hong Kong speakers.

However, none of the responses to the open-ended question 'Can you explain what HKE is?' demonstrated a positive attitude (see details in Chapter 5, section 5.5.4). All described HKE in a negative way, using words such as 'not correct', 'not fluent', 'ungrammatical'. This finding clearly contrasts with S. Poon (2007: 59), who found at least some positive comments regarding HKE, such as 'HKE is quite good', 'very good'. This result might be owing to the fact that my subjects did not perceptually differentiate HKE from HKbr. As seen in the responses to questions 'Can you tell the difference between HKbr and HKed? What is the difference then? ' (see Chapter 5, section 5.5.4.3), the informants in this study demonstrated a clearly positive attitude towards HKed, whereas HKbr was perceived as poor English with a low proficiency. Therefore, it is possible that the Hong Kong community might have a different – probably positive – attitudes towards HKE if they realise HKed as a sub-variety of HKE (see further discussion in Chapter 7).

The responses to the question 'Do you think it is a part of the Hong Kong identity?' show that 27 out of 44 informants agreed that HKE is a part of the Hong Kong identity (Question 2, see Table 7.5). This result is consistent with some of the findings of S. Poon (2007: 59), showing that a few respondents, albeit somewhat unwillingly, admitted that HKE was part of the Hong Kong identity. However, the results from the statements related to the acceptability of HKE to represent the Hong Kong people in my study indicate the opposite tendency (see Table 7.6): 31.8% and 43.2% of the informants, respectively, either 'strongly disagreed' or else 'disagreed' with Statement 5, namely 'As a Hongkonger, I should speak Hong Kong English'. It

is important to note here that in spite of the fact that Statement 5 is formulated in such as way as to provide informants with a reason for speaking HKE, linking it to the place in which it is spoken, a substantial majority nevertheless claimed that they do not want to speak HKE (75%). This confirms the finding of Candler (2001: 53), who has shown that around 68.5% of his respondents disagree or strongly disagree with the statement 'I am from Hong Kong so I want to speak English with a Hong Kong accent'. In contrast, most my informants agreed that 'as a Hongkonger, I should speak Standard English: e.g., British English or American English' (see Table 7.6). This result fully supports Luk (1998), who has reported a preference for a native over a local accent amongst Hong Kong students.

In general, the informants' perceptions of HKE seem to be consistent with their attitudes towards it as revealed by the verbal-guise test. Responses based on the perceptions are largely negative, with particular concern being expressed about the intelligibility of HKE. Although informants admit that the variety is naturally intrinsic to a Hong Kong identity, Standard English varieties such as RP or AmE are nevertheless favoured for representing Hong Kong. Since the informants perceive HKed as a variety similar to British or American English and because they acknowledge that it is more standard than HKbr according to their answers to the open-ended questions (see details in Chapter 5, section 5.5.4), it is possible that HKed could eventually serve as an indicator of the Hong Kong identity to which the local population will ally themselves. In addition, my findings as regards informant choice with respect to cultural identity (see Chapter 6, section 6.1.3) indicate that Hong Kong people are inclined to attribute to themselves a unique identity which can distinguish them from mainland Chinese. There is a possibility that HKed will play a part in forming a linguistic identity for Hong Kong.

7.4 Research Question Four: Which social variables (if any) appear to be significant in determining Hong Kong informants' attitudes?

The informants who participated in the current study were asked to provide personal background information about themselves in Part Three of the research instrument (see Chapter 4, section 4.6.3) in order to assess which (if any), and to what extent,

factors in the informants' social background may account for differences in their attitudes towards the eight varieties of English. The social variables taken into consideration in the current study are appropriate to research within a Chinese-dominated community. Moreover, Baker (1992: 41) pointed out that no list or model of potentially determining social variables in language attitude studies has yet been made. Therefore, the investigation of social factors contributes to the development of a framework designed specifically for studies conducted within the Chinese community. Given the social variables investigated in the limited number of previous studies carried out in Hong Kong (Bolton and Kwon 1990; Luk 1998; Candler 2001; S. Poon 2007; see also Chapter 3, section 3.3.3), it was considered profitable in the current study to examine four variables which might be determinants of the informants' attitudes: i) gender, ii) familiarity with English, iii) cultural identity and iv) socio-economic status (see Chapter 4, section 4.5). Other variables, such as age, nationality and L1, were controlled for in the current study and subsequently not taken into consideration.

According to the results of various tests, none of the social variables in question are significantly correlated or had a serious impact upon informants' evaluations of English varieties (for details see Chapter 6). Given the fact that there is little previous research on this particular aspect, and since no significant results were found in this study, I will refrain from repeating the discussion on this theme in Chapter 6. However, certain descriptive data show interesting trends which are worthy of comment in this context. The male informants rated the four speakers of HKE, i.e., HKed 1, HKed 2, HKbr 1 and HKbr 2, higher than did the female informants (see Chapter 6, section 6.1.1), which suggests that Hong Kong males may well feel more loyalty to the local accent than their female peers (Wilkinson 1965; Giles and Powesland 1975; Labov *et al.* 2006: 335). However, it should be emphasised that the men's negative attitudes towards HKE are simply more moderate, and they follow the same general attitudinal pattern as women towards both HKE and other varieties of English. Previous studies (i.e., Bolton and Kwok 1990; S. Poon 2007; see section 7.1.1) also considered the variable of gender, but in the context of respondents' perceptions of varieties of English rather than from their responses to stimuli. Thus, the finding of the current study is of particular importance since it is the first to

investigate the relationship between gender and Hong Kong informants' evaluations of English varieties using carefully controlled experimental methods.

The variable 'familiarity with English' was subdivided into several sub-factors, such as the medium of instruction (primary school, between Form 1 and Form 5, and between Form 6 and Form 7) and education abroad. The results for medium of instruction are generally consistent with those for education abroad, i.e., informants who were less familiar with English varieties because they had been instructed in Chinese or because they had not been educated abroad were more tolerant of different English accents. Although this variable appears thus to have had a minimal effect on the informants' attitudes towards English accents, it should be noted that the current study is important as the first one to investigate the potential correlation between familiarity of a variety and attitudes towards it.[149]

It therefore contributes to the development of a theoretical framework for language attitude studies in Hong Kong. Although none of the four factors, i.e., gender, familiarity with English, cultural identity and socio-economic class, significantly influenced the informants' evaluations of the eight varieties of English, the investigation confirms some of the results of previous studies and provides important data that can be more fully explored in future research in order to develop of a theoretical framework, as I will elaborate in the next chapter. The next chapter will also present details of the contributions and implications of the current study, particularly from the methodological and pedagogical perspectives, in order to answer the last two research questions: 'what are the methodological implications of the findings for conducting language attitude research, especially in Hong Kong or China?' and 'what are the pedagogical implications of the findings for the choice of linguistic model both inside and outside Hong Kong?'

[149] Previous research (Candler 2001, Poon 2007) concentrated on the effect of medium of instruction or education/residence abroad on the students' recognition of an accent.

Chapter Eight Conclusion

The previous chapters introduced the research questions, the methods employed to investigate Hong Kong people's attitudes towards varieties of English and presented the findings of my current study. In general, the results obtained from the different parts of the questionnaire tend to be consistent with each other. That is, the Hong Kong informants evaluated prestige varieties such as RP and AmE more positively than HKE. However, when HKE was further classified into HKed and HKbr, HKed was found not only to be rated much higher than HKbr, which always came last in the ranking, but also to be evaluated as favourably as Inner Circle English varieties in terms of solidarity. An interesting finding in itself was the internal consistency across the results, i.e. none of the predictor variables tested (including the variable which tested (mis)identification of English varieties) was found to influence the informants' attitudes. This provides a negative answer to the question of whether gender and other variables have potential effects on evaluations, which was raised by the review of previous studies (Bolton and Kwok 1990; Luk 1998; see also Chapter 6, section 6.1.1). It also shows that the relatively positive attitudes towards HKed are generally shared by the local community. In other words, regardless of difference in gender or perceptions of cultural identity, all the informants demonstrated their preference for HKed to at least some degree. Even the recognition of HKed as a variety of HKE did not negatively affect informants' evaluations. These results demonstrate the possibility that this variety might in fact have reached a stage of relative acceptance amongst an elite group in Hong Kong which is suggestive of the possibility that it might therefore develop into a standard local variety in the not too distant future.

I shall now outline the original contribution of the current study to the fields to which it most closely relates (especially research methodology and language pedagogy) as well as its inevitable limitations, which have implications for conducting language attitudes research particularly in Hong Kong, but also in other communities worldwide.

The verbal-guise technique, which is a variant form of the matched-guise test and is classified as an indirect method of measuring language attitudes (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.3), was employed in order to obtain a general picture of the attitudes of Hong Kong Chinese towards eight varieties of English. As mentioned earlier, only a few previous investigations have used the semantic-differential scale to study either the ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong or indeed the wider Chinese population elsewhere. In addition, the verbal-guise technique permits the inclusion of varieties of English from a wider context. For example, the current study selected standard and non-standard varieties of English from the Inner Circle, Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle.

Given the dearth of previous studies which could provide reference information for data collection, considerable time and effort were invested in the research design. In particular, pilot studies were of paramount importance since they provided background information for the Chinese evaluations of English varieties and allowed me to construct an empirically informed semantic-differential scale (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.4). More specifically, they helped me to determine the most suitable traits to be used in the scale, in order to obtain more meaningful responses to the stimuli from the Hong Kong informants. Only two studies, namely Lyczak *et al.* (1976) and Lai (2007), have provided any information regarding the selection of traits for language attitude studies in Hong Kong. However, these researchers tended to select from traits used in previous studies of Western communities though subject to the advice of 'consultants' on Chinese culture.[150] A full ethnographic investigation of the applicability of traits in the Hong Kong context has, to my knowledge, never been conducted so that pilot studies for selecting the most appropriate and relevant traits for the current study were absolutely critical (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.4).

After interviewing and collecting responses to pilot questionnaires distributed among a group of Hong Kong students, with similar characteristics to those eventually

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[150] Unfortunately, neither study provides any information about the exact nature of these consultants so that it is difficult to judge their veracity in this context. Please see Chapter 2, section 2.3.3, for the details of these two studies.

targeted in the investigation, 21 traits were eventually included in the semantic-differential scale, since these afforded more fine-grained results than those that would have been possible had only a relatively small number of traits been included. In addition, in order to obtain a deeper insight into the informants' attitudes, the current study performed further analyses in order to identify those dimensions which could potentially account for the variance in evaluations. The results of prior research involving attitude evaluations (see Chapter 2) have consistently demonstrated the existence of the two general dimensions of status and solidarity. Except for the relatively old (Lyczak *et al.* 1976), we lack scientific justification for applying these two dimensions to the Hong Kong context. Thus, for the current study a Principle Component Analysis was conducted, revealing that the dimensions of status and solidarity (see Chapter 5, section 5.2), which have proved salient in other studies, are also separate, distinct and indeed relevant dimensions relating to the Hong Kong informants' ratings.

In order to compensate for the weaknesses of the verbal-guise technique (see details in Chapter 4, section 4.2), the current study includes an accent recognition item in the form of a direct question. The findings obtained from the accent recognition item facilitated the interpretation of the informants' attitudes towards varieties of English based on stimuli. Indeed, the follow-up one-way ANOVA analyses demonstrated that the evaluations of fourteen speakers (out of sixteen in total) were not affected by the factor of identification (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.3), which greatly increased the reliability of the results obtained from the verbal-guise test. In addition, the different evaluations of paired speakers of the same accent indicate the effect of paralinguistic features (e.g. the reading style) on listereners. However, the fact that these differences are not statistically significant confirms the general attitude results obtained from the verbal-guise test. In other words, the verbal-guise technique is able to ascertain the social stereotypes which are usually implicitly connected with people's evaluations of an English variety. Even if the informants did not connect the specific variety with the correct group of speakers, their underlining prejudice was, nevertheless, uncovered.

Furthermore, the statistical analyses investigated the potential influence of a number of social variables on the informants' evaluations of English varieties in order to

clarify the findings obtained in previous studies. The current study has also provided detailed information regarding the latter, since few of the previous studies in this area considered their results in terms of social variables (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3). For example, the multivariate analyses conducted here indicated that the factor of gender had no significant effect on informants' attitudes, which answers the call of Bolton and Kwok (1990) to focus on the potential acceptability of HKE among male Hong Kong subjects. Based on my results, researchers can now begin to develop a list of external factors or even an overall model which can account for the attitudinal differences within the Chinese population of Hong Kong subjects or indeed other communities in the world.

In addition, the current study examined informants' perceptions of English varieties, especially HKE, using a series of directed and open-ended questions. For example, HKE, RP, and AmE are clearly perceived to serve different domain-specific functions in that HKE is favoured for use in intimate situations, e.g., talking with friends. Moreover, my informants tended to comment negatively on HKE, and positive comments only started to appear in questions that distinguished HKed clearly from HKbr. These perception-based results confirm the findings of the verbal-guise test, which is stimuli-based. In other words, a multipronged method increases the reliability of the research findings.

From a pedagogical point of view, although the main focus of the current study is on attitudes towards varieties of English, in particular HKE, the results may offer some insights into the choice of a linguistic model and the design of language policy both inside and outside Hong Kong. Particularly, the variety of English taught in schools nowadays is still RP or AmE, rather than HKE. The issue of which model is most appropriate for ESL and EFL contexts is hotly debated amongst both researchers and practitioners, especially in classroom situations, where traditionally a native-speaker model has been encouraged and favoured (e.g., Tsui and Bunton 2000; Vavrus 2007; Kirkpatrick 2007). My findings are thus relevant to many debates within the field of applied linguistics. Since this was not a central concern of my study, only a brief overview of this issue is provided below, though it will have important implications for future research and for classroom practices. As Giles (1998) has pointed out,

attitudes of people towards a particular language variety can influence how motivated they are to learn it.

The choice of a native-speaker model, which means the English learners choose sounding like native speakers as the ultimate learning target, is considered to reduce the self-confidence of local teachers since they are required to teach a model they themselves do not speak (Medgyes 1992). In this vein, F. Poon (2006: 23) has thus referred to his personal experience of being a non-native speaker and teaching English in Hong Kong: "So how can I become a spokesman for a language that I am exposed to only in lessons but rarely in daily life? Can I be a legitimate gate-keeper of a language that is foreign to me?...At times, I feel inferior and lack a sense of ownership of the language that I rely on to make a living." Tsui and Bunton (2000) similarly report that Hong Kong teachers who were non-native speakers lacked confidence in their own authority over the language as English teachers, e.g., in the situation of explaining English grammar. Thus they report feeling compelled to cite codified and other sources as supporting evidence before putting forward their own views. In addition, the native-speaker model also ignores the linguistic and cultural resources that a bilingual teacher brings to the classroom. As Morrow (2004) has pointed out, learners are not expected to come across one and only one variety of English in the world, which is particularly the case for Hong Kong people who live in an international metropolis. The employment of native English teachers only could limit the possibility of learners' exposure to many other varieties of English. On the contrary, learners who speak different varieties of English would be able to feel at ease when engaging in multicultural communication in a global context (F. Poon 2006: 27).

Medgyes (1992), examining the concept of 'the ideal teacher' in terms of native and non-native English teachers, showed that the requirements for both kinds of teacher are quite similar: the ideal native English teacher should have achieved a high degree of proficiency in the learners' mother tongue, and the ideal non-native teacher should have achieved near-native proficiency in English. This result indicates a preference for a bilingual model over a monolingual, native-speaker model. Note, however, that bilingualism is often perceived to be problematic even by bilinguals themselves, because the long-term insistence on a native-speaker model has given rise to a

prejudice against any non-native model, including bilingualism (see Cook 2002; Kubota 1998). Furthermore, a major problem for a native-speaker model, particularly in the case of Hong Kong, is that this norm is unattainable since the majority of Hong Kong learners and teachers are necessarily influenced by Cantonese norms (Kirkpatrick 2007: 382). It is thus an inevitable and unfortunate consequence that both teachers and students 'feel frustrated by setting themselves what is in effect an impossible target' (Cook 2002: 331).

Under these circumstances, Kirkpatrick (2007: 387), for example, proposed to 'legitimise the variety of English spoken by highly proficient local English teachers as being a relevant and appropriate linguistic model for their students'. The results obtained in the current study provide evidence to support this proposal: HKed, a local variety spoken mainly by educated Hong Kong people with high English proficiency, is likely to be accepted, since it is evaluated relatively positively, especially in terms of solidarity. Additionally, Kirkpatrick *et al.* (2008) report that speakers of HKed are highly intelligible in contexts outside Hong Kong – in Singapore and Australia – where people may not be familiar with the Hong Kong accent. Therefore, it is possible that HKed could serve Hong Kong learners as a linguistic model. Indeed, whereas the HKed model is a more attainable target for both local teachers and students, a native-speaker model could be incorporated as an external optional model that remains unattainable for the vast majority of learners. For example, films and television could employ both HKbr and HKed in order to increase the exposure of Hong Kong people to both varieties, which could in turn improve their awareness of the differences between the two. The teaching of World Englishes or English varieties in local schools and universities could include language instruction regarding the differences between HKed and HKbr so that the dissemination of information about these two local varieties would go hand in hand with a more tolerant attitude towards local teachers of English who speak it with an educated accent. Consequently, HKed could potentially even be integrated into textbooks and other teaching materials used locally. Overall, the fact that the Hong Kong informants expressed a consistently positive attitude towards HKed gives reason to hope that the introduction and promotion of HKed may produce space and opportunities for its development as a national variety.

However, the introduction of a new linguistic model or even just the raising of learners' linguistic flexibility and tolerance is never a simple procedure. As Morrison and White (2005) noticed, Japanese students who majored in World Englishes at Chukyo University were sent to Singapore in their first year and to Australia, England, or the US in their second year, in order to expose them to a wide range of varieties of English. Some of the students still complained about the Singapore accent and believed that 'American English is best' (Morrison and White 2005: 362), which shows that they did not recognise the rising status of other English varieties which did not belong to the Inner Circle. In addition, although a native-speaker norm is an unattainable target for most local teachers, dictionaries, grammars and textbooks from native English-speaking countries are still more favoured by Hong Kong teachers than those produced in non-native countries (Tsui and Bunton 2000). Hong Kong's English language teachers have been reported to hold rather conservative attitudes towards the model of English used in schools, and tend to be in favour of prescribed usages (Lee and Collins 2006).

Not surprisingly therefore, in a study of American universities, Vavrus (1991: 186) found that only the University of Hawaii and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign had elective courses that focused on non-native varieties of English. In contrast, nowadays, six out of seven universities in Hong Kong offer courses that emphasise World Englishes and different varieties of English.[151] Munro *et al.* (2006) also conducted consciousness-raising activities in order to help pre-service teachers – who were Canadian undergraduates planning to work as ESL teachers – to understand the negative attitudes towards and experiences of being discriminated against as non-native English learners. This kind of training '...is successful in helping students understand that some of their own unquestioned attitudes may be based on stereotypes...' of other varieties of English (Munro *et al.* 2006: 76).

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[151] The six universities are Hong Kong University, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, The City University of Hong Kong, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong Baptist University and Lingnan University. The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology does not run a course since it is a higher education institution specialising in science and technology and does not have a department of English language and literature. All this information can be obtained through each university's website.

In addition, as pointed out by F. Poon (2006: 23), rather than spending money on recruiting more native English-speaking teachers, it would be more useful and realistic for Hong Kong to put more resources into training 'local teachers who are more able to understand the needs of students learning English as a second or foreign language'. It is thus hoped that courses and training opportunities specially geared towards non-native and second language Englishes in classroom situations will prepare future teachers for the employment of non-native varieties of English in Hong Kong classrooms. Also from the perspective of the learner, it is important to raise learners' awareness, as well as increase their linguistic flexibility and tolerance, of the diversity of English by exposing them to a range of English varieties. Awareness-building strategies such as the above 'encourage learners' confidence in their own varieties of English and in turn reduce the linguistic capital that many learners still believe native-like English to possess' (Jenkins 2006: 174).

Although the findings of the current study have shed light on the complex nature of the attitudes of Hong Kong informants towards eight varieties of English and have provided a useful initial framework for the exploration of local attitudes towards HKE, there are undoubtedly some limitations which make further research necessary.

First, for both theoretical and practical reasons the sample of the current study consisted solely of Hong Kong university students (see Chapter 4, section 4.4). Hence the population is relatively homogeneous, in that all informants have the same educational level and are of a similar age. As discussed previously, these two factors may have influenced the subjects' attitudes towards varieties of English. It would therefore be useful to replicate this study using a broader range of Hong Kong subjects in order to be able to generalise (or reject) the findings beyond this particular group. Besides, the current study investigated ten factors [152] with a relatively small number of cases (N=44) and none of the results reached a statistically significant level. One explanation could be that the probability of making

[152] Please note that one of the four social variables, 'familiarity with English', is sub-divided into six factors: the medium of instruction in primary schools; F1-F5, F6-F7; education abroad; overall exposure to English language; exposure to a specific English variety. Thus, the total number of factors is actually ten (for details see Chapter 5, section 5.1).

a Type I error increases when conducting tests on the same experimental data (Field 2005: 348). For example, if each bivariate analysis test uses a .05 level of significance, then for each test the probability of NOT making a Type I error is 95%. However, I conducted eight independent bivariate analysis tests to examine the relationship between exposure to English and evaluations of each English variety. Thus, the overall probability of no Type I error was $(.95)^8 = .66$, owing to the fact that there were eight tests. The probability of at least one Type I error was 1-.66=.34, or 34%, which is greater than the criterion accepted by social scientists (*ibid.*). As seen in Chapters 5, I tried to minimise this probability by using a MANOVA test rather than multiple ANOVA tests. When I had no choice but to repeat the bivariate analysis on the same data, I always focused on and discussed the results obtained from the majority of tests since they demonstrate the general trend of the data. For instance, if most of the tests do not reach statistical significance, it is likely that one or two significances might be associated with the probability of making a Type I error. Although the current study focuses on an in-depth examination of the information each informant provided, it would be desirable to extend the number of subjects or change the research design (e.g., include fewer social variables, or collect rich qualitative data via ethnographic analysis such as focus groups in order to achieve a higher reliability of the findings).

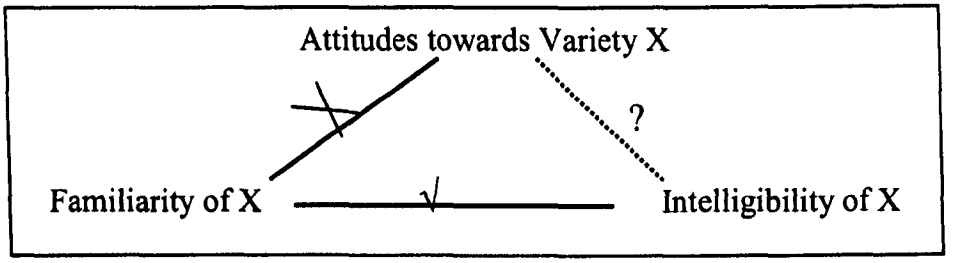
Secondly, although concerted efforts were made to examine the relationship between the informants' evaluations of English varieties and a number of social variables, there are other variables that may be worth taking into consideration, such as the age of the speaker (and listener), the intelligibility of a variety of English and the English proficiency level of the informants. The variable of age is not often investigated in language attitude studies conducted internationally (Giles and Coupland 1991: 40) or in Hong Kong. However, according to the study by Lee and Collins (2006), the older the subjects, the more likely they are to accept prescribed usages of English. By contrast, younger subjects, [153] tended to be more tolerant and consequently more

[153] Although the informants in the current study were relatively young (between 19 and 30), the participants in the studies of Lee and Collins (2006) and S. Poon (2007) were even younger since they were all students from Form 6 in secondary school and thus probably between the ages of 16 and 18.

likely to accept the English usages which might be categorised as HKE. The informants' age could thus have potentially contributed towards determining their attitudes towards HKE and this warrants further investigation.

Previous studies show that familiarity with a variety of English might have an effect on the intelligibility of such a variety (e.g., Munro and Derwing 1997; Munro *et al.* 2006; Gupta 2005). However, it still remains unknown as to whether the intelligibility of a variety, which seems to be affected by familiarity, influences people's attitudes towards that variety or not (see Table 8.1). The familiarity with a variety, as far as the current study has been able to determine, did not have an effect on their attitudes towards this accent, which is subsequently shown by a cross in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 The relationship between attitudes, familiarity and intelligibility



The current study does not explicitly examine the potential correlation between the intelligibility of a variety of English and informants' attitudes towards it. However, since a radio announcer usually needs to speak English in a clear and understandable way, the question of suitability for the position of radio announcer includes the issue of intelligibility to some extent. As shown in Chapter 5, section 5.5.1, the ratings of suitability for the position of radio announcer are positively correlated with the evaluations of eight varieties of English. This result is likely to indicate a potential correlation between the intelligibility of a variety of English and people's attitudes towards that variety, i.e. the more intelligible the variety is, the more positive the attitudes people might have towards it. Since this positive correlation was arrived at via an indirect investigation, it would be worthwhile to study this relationship employing a methodology incorporating a direct research design.

The findings of the current study also show that there is a concern over English proficiency with regard to HKE in the informants' perceptions of this variety. When they were required to describe HKE, as well as differentiate HKed from HKbr, in the

open-ended questions, the informants tended to mention proficiency level (2 out of 44 and 6 out of 44 respectively, see Chapter 5, section 5.5.4). Therefore, there is a need for more work to be done incorporating this variable into attitude studies of HKE. In addition, self-rated proficiency might be another factor that could influence subjects' attitudes. For example, findings from research into the attitudes of Japanese learners towards standard/non-standard varieties of English have also demonstrated self-perceived proficiency to be an influential variable (McKenzie 2006: 234). Lee and Collins (2006: 36) concluded from their research that subjects with lower levels of English proficiency tended to have a more tolerant attitude towards debated English usages.

Thirdly, the results of the current study point to the presence of a certain degree of solidarity felt by the Hong Kong subjects towards one of the HKE varieties, i.e., HKed, a finding which is broadly consistent with the results of previous studies (e.g., Bolton and Kwok 1990; Candler 2001; S. Poon 2007; see Chapter 7, sections 7.1). However, RP and AmE were evaluated higher than HKed in terms of solidarity in the current study. Therefore, future studies could concentrate specifically on the solidarity dimension of subjects' attitudes towards HKed, to determine which emotion(s) may play a role in their attitudes in order to clarify why RP and AmE are perceived with a higher degree of solidarity than HKed. For instance, instead of the list of personality traits employed in the current study, future research could concentrate on several traits with which RP and AmE are likely to be more positively rated than HKed. Based on this information, we might be able to find out which aspect of solidarity results in HKed being downgraded.

In addition, the informants' evaluations of ME are broadly parallel with those of HKed in the current study. Previous research has reported that Mandarin was not, in fact, perceived positively by Hong Kong subjects in general (e.g., Lai 2001, 2005, 2007; see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3). My study reveals, however, that this negative attitude towards Mandarin is not simply or directly transferred onto Mandarin-accented English. As discussed previously, the relatively positive attitude found towards ME might be due to the socio-economic status of the ME speakers, who tend to be professionals or people working in professional-related positions in Hong Kong. However, Zhang (2005) showed that Mandarin spoken by Mainland Chinese people

working in foreign businesses were influenced by the Mandarin used by people from Hong Kong or Taiwan. It might be interesting to find out if this influence is extended to English accents, namely if the group of Mainland Chinese professionals who have frequent contact with Hong Kong or foreign country would like to follow the model of HKE instead of ME and whether they also have a positive attitude towards ME.

In 2003, Bolton employed the term 'Chinese Englishes' rather than 'China English' to indicate that there should be more than one variety of English in China. If, however, we were to refer to a variety spoken by the majority of Chinese people, ME would be the best choice for the following reason: even though every Chinese person might speak a local dialect or accent of Chinese language, Mandarin is the only official Chinese language in P. R. China. Nearly all Chinese people can speak Mandarin and ME is thus likely to be the best concrete example of what might constitute a generic China English.

In conclusion, this chapter has considered the methodological and pedagogical implications of the work presented in this thesis. I have also outlined some of the possibilities for future research opened up by this study e.g., the further probing of social variables of age and educational level, but also completely new areas inspired by the results, such as the choice of a linguistic model for Hong Kong classrooms and the potential change in attitudes to HKE.

It is hoped that the work presented in this thesis offers new insights into the attitudes of Hong Kong people towards varieties of English, especially HKE. I have been able to show that they hold significantly different perceptions of HKbr and HKed. Not only did the results of the verbal-guise test reveal that HKed was perceived relatively positively in terms of solidarity, but also through the direct questions that it was ranked higher than standard varieties such as RP and AmE in intimate domains. Although neither accent recognition nor the other social variables investigated in the study were found to have a significant effect on constructing the perceptions of the English varieties, this research is the first attempt to construct a model of potentially determining social variables in language attitude studies in a Chinese community. Finally, this work offers an overall picture of attitudinal difference and acceptability of English varieties among Hong Kong Chinese, which provides valuable insights into the possible future development of HKE.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Selecting Traits

Instruction:

If you have a positive perception of your native tongue, would you please select and rank ten adjectives from the following list according to how you perceive it? The ranking 1~10 can show how suitable you think the ten adjectives can be used to describe your native tongue. '1' indicates the most suitable adjective.

Adjectives:

sociable, friendly, industrious, comforting, sincere, reliable, likeable, honest, competent, kind, agreeable, conscientious, trustworthy, humble, warm, intelligent, affectionate, folksy, dependable, successful, considerate, creative, generous, helpful, well-educated, elegant

1_____(most suitable)

2_____

3_____

4_____

5_____

6_____

7_____

8_____

9_____

10_____(least suitable)

Write any other adjectives that are not listed but you think appropriate_____

Appendix 2: The Factually Neutral Text

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak$_1$. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveller take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other$_2$. Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him$_3$; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt$_4$. Then the Sun shined out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak$_5$. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

Appendix 3: The map of the People's Republic of China[154]

(Source: State Bureau of Surveying and Mapping)

[154] The original size of the map is too large to be included in the text. So the map is moderated and it is thus difficult to see details from the map. However, the original one can be viewed online: http://219.238.166.215/mcp/MapProduct/Cut/中英文对照政区版/1200万中英文对照政区版/Map.htm

Appendix 4: Information of 16 Speakers of 8 Varieties

RP 1 was born and raised[155] in Dublin, Ireland. She received her education at a private senior high school in Dublin. After that she spent twenty years in Oxfordshire in the south-east of England. She currently resides and works in Newcastle upon Tyne in the north-east of England. She has worked in an English language and linguistics department of a university since 1990. Her accent is widely perceived by her colleagues and students as close to RP.

RP 2 was born and raised in Dublin, Ireland. She completed her university and doctoral education in Dublin. She is a linguist who has worked in Great Britain for over 15 years and is very familiar with the RP accent.

AmE 1 was born and raised in the north-east of the United States and her undergraduate study was also in the north-east of the US. In addition, her parents were both born and raised in the north-east of America. She came to the UK to do a one-year Master's degree in 2007 and she was on the degree programme when the stimulus was recorded in 2007.

AmE 2 was born and grew up in Connecticut, in the north-east of the United States, and she finished her Bachelors degree at New York University and did her PhD in upstate Washington. Although she has lived in England for more than 20 years, her accent is still convincingly American, still possessing, for instance, a rhoticised /r/ and flapped /t/.

TynE 1 was born and raised in Byker, Newcastle upon Tyne. She was an undergraduate student at Newcastle University when the stimulus was recorded in

[155] 'Grew up' or 'raised' usually indicates the time from birth up until entering a college/university in the current study.

2007. She had not spent any time abroad except for short-term vacations in mainland Europe. She has lived in Newcastle all her life.

TynE 2 was born and grew up in Wallsend, Newcastle upon Tyne, studying for a Bachelor's degree at Newcastle University in 2007. Like TynE 1, she had not spent any time abroad except for short-term holidays in Spain. She has also lived in Newcastle all her life.

AusE 1 was born and grew up in the west of Australia where she also finished her undergraduate degree. When the stimulus was recorded, she had worked at an engineering department of an English university for less than five years.

AusE 2 was born and grew up in the south-west of Australia. She studied at Canberra University and spent one year in Italy and Spain. She had been holding an academic post at Newcastle University for about two years when the stimulus was recorded.

PE 1 was born and grew up in the north of the Republic of the Philippines. She went to Hong Kong to take up a position as a domestic worker. Since this job requires limited English communication and Filipino workers usually socialise with each other, she has not had much exposure to another variety of English.

PE 2 was born and grew up in the north-west of the Republic of the Philippines. She had been in Hong Kong for around five years working as a domestic helper when the stimulus was recorded. Like PE 1, she has not had much input from other English varieties which might have affected her Filipino accent.

ME 1 was born and grew up in Beijing. She went to study in America for a two-year Master's degree in linguistics and her accent displays a certain American English influence as displayed in Table 3.4. After completing her degree she returned to Beijing. She is currently working as a translator/interpreter in an international organisation in Beijing, which places her in an environment with high exposure to English. Therefore, she may be taken to represent those ME speakers who receive overseas education and have a 'white-collar' job in a multinational company or organisation in a metropolitan area in China (Zhang 2005).

ME 2 was born and raised in Tianjing. She came to Newcastle at the age of thirty to study for a one-year Master's degree after obtaining a higher qualification (a qualification which is lower than the UK Bachelor's degree) in China. In Newcastle, she started to work in data entry, moving from part-time to full-time, a job that is predominantly receptive rather than productive from a linguistic point of view. She also mainly socialises with Chinese speakers in England. Hence, although she has spent seven years in the UK, her accent has not changed substantially and she retains, quantitatively speaking according to my observations, more characteristics of Mandarin in her English than ME 1.

HKbr 1: This speaker was born and grew up in Hong Kong. Her formal education in English ended when she was eighteen and started working as a waitress after finishing middle school. In 2000, at the age of 30, she came to the UK to join her husband. Since then she has been working at a Chinese take-away and socialises mainly with Hong Kong Chinese speakers in Newcastle upon Tyne. Since, from a linguistic point of view, her job is highly receptive and involves little production, her competence in English has not significantly improved in the past decade. Indeed, her accent may be classified as broad Hong Kong on the basis that she has preserved numerous phonological features typical of HKE (see Chapter 2, section 2.4).

HKbr 2 was born and raised in Hong Kong. She came to the UK in 2003 for one year to study for a Master's degree at the age of 27. She has since gone back to Hong Kong and had been working in administration for two years until the end of 2007 when I collected the guise. Her education and experience in the UK did not alter her spoken English a great deal according to my observations and she still speaks English with an accent that can be easily identified as Hong Kong owing to a number of phonological features, such as the lack of contrast between long/short vowels, the realisation of the word *and* with a full vowel, and the realisation of /n/ in the word *north* as close to /l/.

HKed 1 was born and grew up in Hong Kong. She came to the UK to do a one-year Master's degree at the age of 28 after completing her undergraduate degree in Hong Kong. She has stayed in Newcastle and had lived there for almost ten years when the recording was made. She currently works as a manager in an interpreting department. Her English has been greatly influenced by her long stay in an English-speaking

country and by her job, which offers her ample opportunity to interact with native English speakers. However, her accent retains certain characteristics of Hong Kong English, such as the realisation of /ʃ/ and /z/ as /s/, and the assignment of full values to weakened vowels.

HKed 2 was born and raised in Hong Kong. She studied for an MA in translation in the UK for one year and then went back to Hong Kong to work as a government employee. Although she has not had as much exposure to native English as HKed1, this speaker continues to receive intensive language input in English owing to the fact that English is used as a daily language at her workplace. Like HKed 1, she retains some features of Hong Kong English, such as the production of fully realised and stressed vowels in pronouns and determiners such as *the, that, he.*

Appendix 5: Descriptive Data for 8 Varieties of English According to Gender

	sex	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
RP	male	3.5276	.47122	19
	female	3.4762	.35013	17
	Total	3.5033	.41342	36
AmE	male	3.4135	.34605	19
	female	3.6667	.32841	17
	Total	3.5331	.35682	36
AusE	male	3.3659	.43421	19
	female	3.3852	.31869	17
	Total	3.3750	.37879	36
TynE	male	3.2694	.38038	19
	female	3.0420	.36621	17
	Total	3.1620	.38597	36
HKed	male	3.3810	.34081	19
	female	3.2717	.35406	17
	Total	3.3294	.34656	36
HKbr	male	2.8496	.31367	19
	female	2.6275	.32219	17
	Total	2.7447	.33273	36
PE	male	3.0865	.35971	19
	female	2.8754	.42329	17
	Total	2.9868	.39985	36
ME	male	3.4273	.36296	19
	female	3.2395	.22705	17
	Total	3.3386	.31680	36

Appendix 6: Descriptive Data for 8 Varieties of English According to Medium of Instruction (Primary School)

	Primary school	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
RP	CMI	3.4737	.42834	19
	EMI	3.5364	.40652	17
	Total	3.5033	.41342	36
AmE	CMI	3.4624	.37924	19
	EMI	3.6120	.32272	17
	Total	3.5331	.35682	36
AusE	CMI	3.3183	.42983	19
	EMI	3.4384	.31295	17
	Total	3.3750	.37879	36
TynE	CMI	3.2143	.45564	19
	EMI	3.1036	.29233	17
	Total	3.1620	.38597	36
HKed	CMI	3.3960	.32279	19
	EMI	3.2549	.36652	17
	Total	3.3294	.34656	36
HKbr	CMI	2.8396	.28746	19
	EMI	2.6387	.35577	17
	Total	2.7447	.33273	36
PE	CMI	3.1266	.39588	19
	EMI	2.8305	.35254	17
	Total	2.9868	.39985	36
ME	CMI	3.3885	.35449	19
	EMI	3.2829	.26817	17
	Total	3.3386	.31680	36

Note: CMI indicates that the medium of instruction was Chinese.
EMI indicates that the medium of instruction was English.

Appendix 7: Descriptive Data for 8 Varieties of English According to Medium of Instruction (F 1 – F 5)

		Mean	Std. Deviation	N
RP	CMI	3.5417	.42953	28
	EMI	3.3690	.34126	8
	Total	3.5033	.41342	36
AmE	CMI	3.5502	.37631	28
	EMI	3.4732	.29173	8
	Total	3.5331	.35682	36
AusE	CMI	3.3759	.40873	28
	EMI	3.3720	.27026	8
	Total	3.3750	.37879	36
TynE	CMI	3.1114	.38632	28
	EMI	3.3393	.35079	8
	Total	3.1620	.38597	36
HKed	CMI	3.3886	.32082	28
	EMI	3.1220	.37462	8
	Total	3.3294	.34656	36
HKbr	CMI	2.7202	.28854	28
	EMI	2.8304	.47079	8
	Total	2.7447	.33273	36
PE	CMI	3.0009	.42707	28
	EMI	2.9375	.30383	8
	Total	2.9868	.39985	36
ME	CMI	3.3248	.33648	28
	EMI	3.3869	.24833	8
	Total	3.3386	.31680	36

Appendix 8: Descriptive Data for 8 Varieties of English According to Medium of Instruction (F 6 – F 7)

		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
RP	CMI	30	22.83	685.00
	EMI	12	18.17	218.00
	Total	42		
AmE	CMI	32	22.77	728.50
	EMI	11	19.77	217.50
	Total	43		
AusE	CMI	32	21.25	680.00
	EMI	11	24.18	266.00
	Total	43		
TynE	CMI	32	20.50	656.00
	EMI	12	27.83	334.00
	Total	44		
HKed	CMI	31	23.47	727.50
	EMI	12	18.21	218.50
	Total	43		
HKbr	CMI	31	20.76	643.50
	EMI	12	25.21	302.50
	Total	43		
PE	CMI	31	21.63	670.50
	EMI	12	22.96	275.50
	Total	43		
ME	CMI	32	20.63	660.00
	EMI	11	26.00	286.00
	Total	43		

Appendix 9: Descriptive Data for 8 Varieties of English According to Education Abroad

	Education abroad	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
RP	yes	3.1931	.26202	9
	no	3.6067	.40564	27
	Total	3.5033	.41342	36
AmE	yes	3.3439	.23843	9
	no	3.5961	.37065	27
	Total	3.5331	.35682	36
AusE	yes	3.2037	.31455	9
	no	3.4321	.38622	27
	Total	3.3750	.37879	36
TynE	yes	3.1799	.28698	9
	no	3.1561	.41839	27
	Total	3.1620	.38597	36
HKed	yes	3.1032	.26990	9
	no	3.4048	.34007	27
	Total	3.3294	.34656	36
HKbr	yes	2.6746	.32515	9
	no	2.7681	.33798	27
	Total	2.7447	.33273	36
PE	yes	2.9233	.36553	9
	no	3.0079	.41503	27
	Total	2.9868	.39985	36
ME	yes	3.2910	.24010	9
	no	3.3545	.34105	27
	Total	3.3386	.31680	36

Note: 'Yes' indicates that the informants had been educated in an Inner Circle country: four were educated in the UK, two in the US, two in Canada, one in New Zealand.
'No' indicates that the informants had not been educated abroad.

Appendix 10: Descriptive Data for 8 Varieties of English According to Cultural Identity

	Cultural Identity	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
RP	Chinese	3.5195	.44808	11
	Hongkonger	3.4510	.42153	17
	Hong Kong Chinese	3.5923	.38147	8
	Total	3.5033	.41342	36
AmE	Chinese	3.4199	.38499	11
	Hongkonger	3.5224	.35199	17
	Hong Kong Chinese	3.7113	.29145	8
	Total	3.5331	.35682	36
AusE	Chinese	3.3788	.30313	11
	Hongkonger	3.2591	.41487	17
	Hong Kong Chinese	3.6161	.30609	8
	Total	3.3750	.37879	36
TynE	Chinese	3.1797	.37817	11
	Hongkonger	3.1289	.42367	17
	Hong Kong Chinese	3.2083	.35309	8
	Total	3.1620	.38597	36
HKed	Chinese	3.2446	.29104	11
	Hongkonger	3.3445	.36384	17
	Hong Kong Chinese	3.4137	.39615	8
	Total	3.3294	.34656	36
HKbr	Chinese	2.8636	.36298	11
	Hongkonger	2.6639	.29784	17
	Hong Kong Chinese	2.7530	.35268	8
	Total	2.7447	.33273	36
PE	Chinese	2.9329	.28864	11
	Hongkonger	3.0532	.44020	17
	Hong Kong Chinese	2.9196	.46586	8
	Total	2.9868	.39985	36
ME	Chinese	3.3442	.35815	11
	Hongkonger	3.2829	.28458	17
	Hong Kong Chinese	3.4494	.33441	8
	Total	3.3386	.31680	36

Appendix 11: Descriptive Data for Four HKE Speakers According to Cultural Identity

	Cultural Identity	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
HKed1	Chinese	3.4286	.38811	15
	Hongkonger	3.3885	.50352	19
	Hong Kong Chinese	3.4226	.69867	8
	Total	3.4093	.49644	42
HKed2	Chinese	3.0508	.48075	15
	Hongkonger	3.2431	.39071	19
	Hong Kong Chinese	3.4048	.41279	8
	Total	3.2052	.43839	42
HKbr1	Chinese	2.7333	.42240	15
	Hongkonger	2.6241	.42618	19
	Hong Kong Chinese	2.7976	.41337	8
	Total	2.6961	.41805	42
HKbr2	Chinese	2.8921	.50762	15
	Hongkonger	2.6942	.40447	19
	Hong Kong Chinese	2.7083	.38386	8
	Total	2.7676	.44025	42

Appendix 12: Identification Rates – RP 1, RP2, AmE 1, AmE 2, PE 1 and PE 2

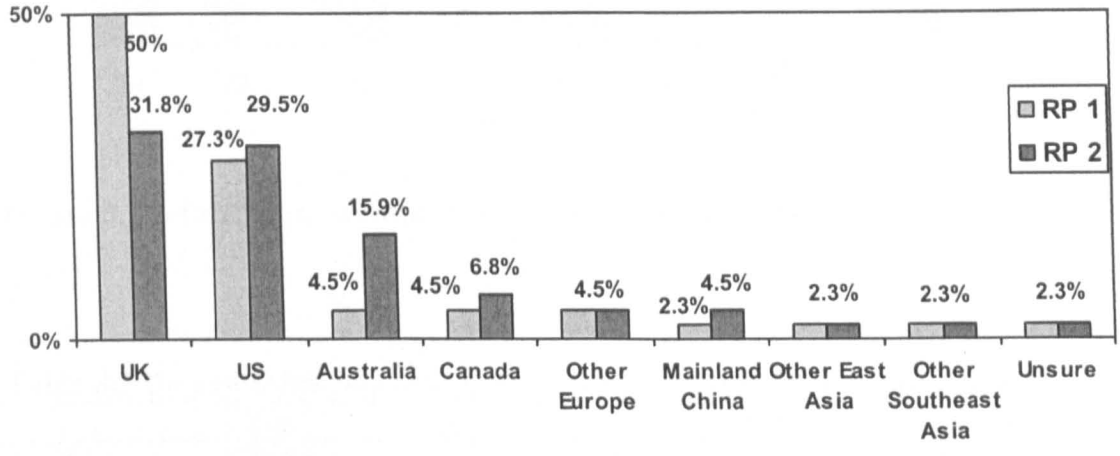

Figure 8.1 Informants' identifications of RP 1 and RP 2[156]

Table 8.2 Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?

	Yes	No	Total
RP 1	20.5%	79.5%	100.0
RP 2	4.5%	95.5%	100.0

156 In the figures, 'Other South-east Asia' encompasses responses such as Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, etc., places in the general area where English is used as a second language, excluding Hong Kong. 'Other Outer circle' indicates responses such as Nigeria, Cameroon156, where English is used as a second language. 'Other East Asia' consists of responses such as Japan, Korea, South Korea, etc., places where English is spoken as a foreign language. 'Other Europe' includes responses such as Germany, France, Russia, etc., places where English is spoken as a foreign language. 'Unsure' refers to the missing data or to responses that were too vague to be classified into any of the categories, such as 'non-English', 'Africa'.

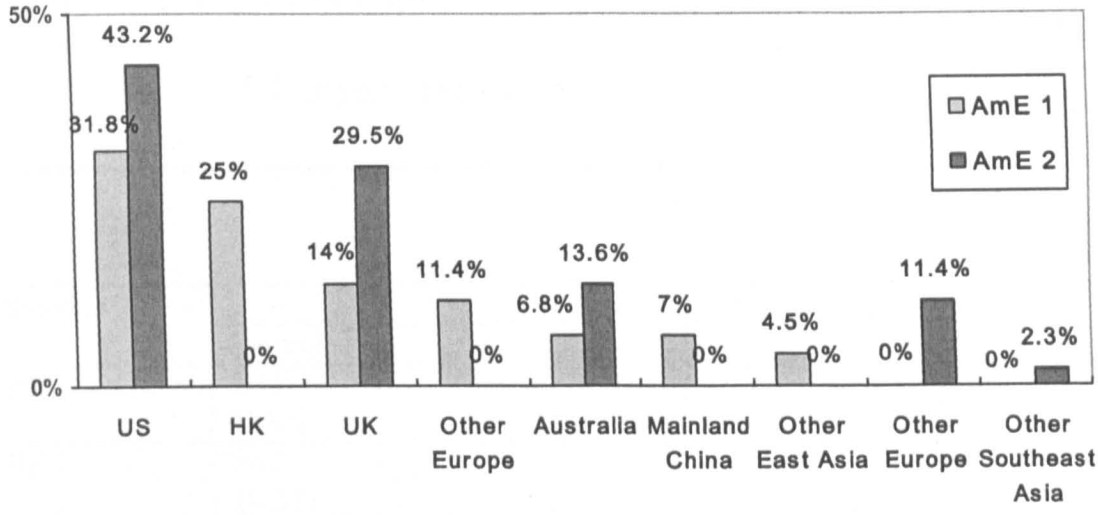

Figure 8.2 Informants' identifications of AmE 1 and AmE 2

Table 8.3 Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?

	Yes	No	Missing	Total
AmE 1	20.5%	75%	4.5%	100.0
AmE 2	0%	93.2%	9.8%	100.0

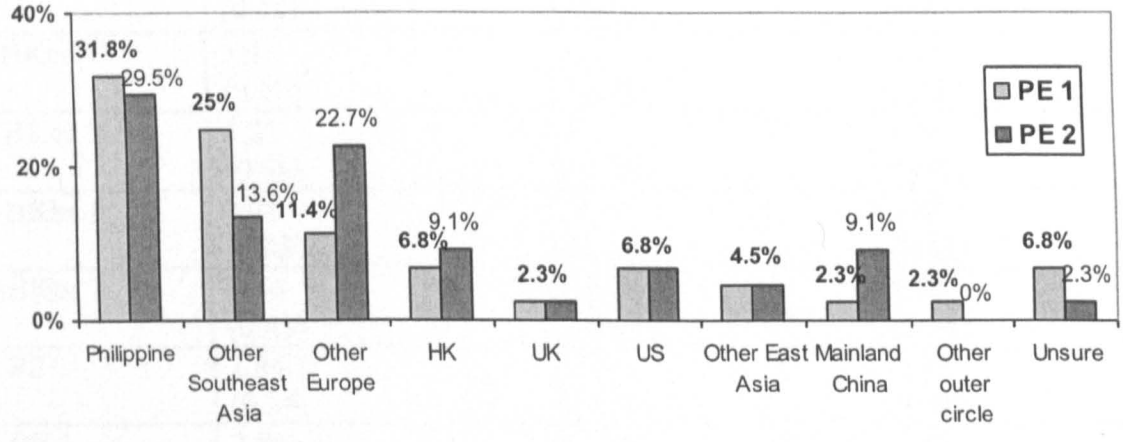

Figure 8.3 Informants' identifications of PE 1 and PE 2

Table 8.4 Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does?

	Yes	No	Missing
PE 1	6.8%	86.4%	6.8%
PE 2	15.9%	79.5%	4.5%

Appendix 13: Descriptive Data for 16 speakers according to Correct and Incorrect Identifications

Speaker	Recognition		
	Correct	Incorrect	Total
RP 1	3.31 (0.53)	3.10 (0.57)	3.20 (0.56)
RP 2	3.92 (0.38)	3.58 (0.50)	3.69 (0.49)
AmE 1	3.47 (0.40)	3.16 (0.41)	3.25 (0.43)
AmE 2	3.64 (0.47)	3.87 (0.53)	3.77 (0.51)
AusE 1	3.31 (0.30)	3.20 (0.55)	3.20 (0.54)
AusE 2	3.90 (*)	3.47 (0.38)	3.48 (0.38)
TynE 1	3.49 (0.41)	3.23 (0.41)	3.28 (0.42)
TynE 2	2.94 (0.44)	3.03 (0.53)	2.96 (0.46)
HKed 1	3.41 (0.50)	3.47 (0.43)	3.43 (0.48)
HKed 2	3.21 (0.44)	3.11 (0.49)	3.18 (0.45)
HKbr 1	2.75 (0.43)	2.56 (0.36)	2.69 (0.41)
HKbr 2	2.76 (0.43)	2.86 (0.47)	2.78 (0.44)
PE 1	2.84 (0.34)	3.03 (0.50)	2.97 (0.46)
PE 2	2.89 (0.48)	3.02 (0.39)	2.98 (0.41)
ME 1	3.48 (0.34)	3.43 (0.43)	3.43 (0.43)
ME 2	3.05 (0.40)	3.30 (0.49)	3.22 (0.47)
Note:	* There was only one case of correct identification. Thus there was no standard deviation.		

Appendix 14: The Questionnaire used in The Current Study

Questionnaire

Thank you for participating in this survey, which will help with the research for my PhD. The purpose of this survey is to explore how people perceive different accents simply by listening to speakers' voices. The survey is NOT, therefore, a test of your knowledge of English. You do not need to be concerned about what is being said. I am only interested in your impressions of the speaker and you can answer the questions either in English or Chinese – whichever feels most comfortable to you.

You will hear recordings of 16 female voices, all reading the same passage. After listening to each voice you will be asked to answer some questions about the personality of the speaker, so obviously you will need to listen to the voice before answering the questions. You will hear each voice twice.

The questionnaire will take you about 35-40 minutes to complete. Please answer the questions quickly since I am interested in your first impressions.

The procedure for completing the questionnaire is as follows:

Listen to Recording 1 → Answer questions →
Listen to Recording 2 → Answer questions → .....
Listen to Recording 16 → Answer questions →

Complete Additional questions and →
Complete the section asking for information relating to your background

I Part One: Personality Characteristics

Please listen to the recordings and answer the questions which follow. You can then rank the personality characteristics of each speaker on the scale given below.

Example:

Hence, if you think the speaker is **very** friendly, you would circle "5" on the scale.

01. | unfriendly 1.....2.....3.....4.....(5) friendly

If you think the speaker is **reasonably** friendly, you would, by contrast, circle "3" on the scale.

01. | unfriendly 1.....2.....(3).....4.....5 friendly

Listen to Recording 1

1. What do you think of the speaker?

22.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
23.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
24.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
25.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
26.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
27.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
28.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
29.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
30.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
31.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
32.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
33.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
34.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
35.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
36.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
37.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
38.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
39.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
40.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
41.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
42.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

2. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____
3. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No
4. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?
   | least suitable 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most suitable
5. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?
   | not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much
6. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?
   | not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

Listen to Recording 2

7. What do you think of the speaker?

43.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
44.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
45.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
46.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
47.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
48.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
49.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
50.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
51.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
52.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
53.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
54.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
55.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
56.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
57.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
58.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
59.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
60.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
61.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
62.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
63.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

8. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____
9. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No
10. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

11. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

12. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

Listen to Recording 3

13. What do you think of the speaker?

64.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
65.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
66.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
67.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
68.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
69.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
70.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
71.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
72.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
73.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
74.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere

75.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
76.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
77.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
78.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
79.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
80.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
81.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
82.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
83.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
84.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

14. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____
15. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No
16. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

17. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

18. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

Listen to Recording 4

19. What do you think of the speaker?

85.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
86.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
87.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
88.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
89.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
90.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
91.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
92.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
93.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
94.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
95.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
96.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
97.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
98.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
99.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
100.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
101.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
102.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
103.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
104.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
105.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

20. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____
21. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No
22. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

| least suitable 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most suitable

23. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

| not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

24. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

| not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

Listen to Recording 5

25. What do you think of the speaker?

106.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
107.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
108.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
109.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
110.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
111.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
112.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
113.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
114.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
115.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
116.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
117.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
118.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
119.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
120.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
121.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
122.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
123.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
124.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
125.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
126.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

26. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____

27. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No

28. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

| least suitable 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most suitable

29. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

| not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

30. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

| not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

Listen to Recording 6

31. What do you think of the speaker?

127.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
128.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
129.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
130.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble

131.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
132.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
133.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
134.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
135.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
136.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
137.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
138.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
139.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
140.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
141.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
142.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
143.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
144.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
145.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
146.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
147.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

32. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____

33. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No

34. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

35. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

36. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

Listen to Recording 7

37. What do you think of the speaker?

148.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
149.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
150.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
151.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
152.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
153.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
154.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
155.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
156.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
157.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
158.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
159.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
160.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
161.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
162.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
163.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
164.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working

165.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
166.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
167.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
168.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

38. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____
39. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No
40. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?
    least suitable 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most suitable
41. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?
    not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much
42. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?
    not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

Listen to Recording 8

43. What do you think of the speaker?

169.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
170.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
171.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
172.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
173.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
174.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
175.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
176.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
177.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
178.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
179.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
180.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
181.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
182.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
183.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
184.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
185.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
186.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
187.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
188.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
189.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

44. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____
45. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No
46. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?
    least suitable 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most suitable
47. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?
    not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much
48. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?
    not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

Listen to Recording 9

49. What do you think of the speaker?

190.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
191.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
192.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
193.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
194.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
195.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
196.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
197.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
198.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
199.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
200.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
201.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
202.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
203.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
204.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
205.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
206.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
207.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
208.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
209.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
210.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

50. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____

51. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No

52. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

53. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

54. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

Listen to Recording 10

55. What do you think of the speaker?

211.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
212.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
213.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
214.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
215.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
216.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
217.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
218.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
219.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
220.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful

221.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
222.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
223.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
224.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
225.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
226.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
227.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
228.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
229.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
230.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
231.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

56. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____
57. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No
58. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

59. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

60. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

Listen to Recording 11

61. What do you think of the speaker?

232.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
233.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
234.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
235.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
236.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
237.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
238.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
239.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
240.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
241.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
242.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
243.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
244.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
245.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
246.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
247.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
248.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
249.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
250.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
251.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
252.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

62. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____
63. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No

64. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

65. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

66. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

Listen to Recording 12

67. What do you think of the speaker?

253.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
254.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
255.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
256.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
257.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
258.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
259.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
260.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
261.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
262.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
263.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
264.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
265.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
266.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
267.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
268.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
269.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
270.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
271.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
272.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
273.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

68. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____

69. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No

70. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

71. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

72. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

Listen to Recording 13

73. What do you think of the speaker?

274.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
275.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
276.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent

277.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
278.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
279.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
280.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
281.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
282.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
283.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
284.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
285.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
286.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
287.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
288.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
289.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
290.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
291.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
292.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
293.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
294.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

74. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____

75. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No

76. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

77. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

78. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

Listen to Recording 14

79. What do you think of the speaker?

295.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
296.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
297.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
298.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
299.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
300.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
301.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
302.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
303.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
304.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
305.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
306.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
307.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
308.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
309.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
310.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative

311.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
312.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
313.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
314.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
315.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

80. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____

81. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No

82. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

83. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

84. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

Listen to Recording 15

85. What do you think of the speaker?

316.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
317.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
318.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
319.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
320.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
321.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
322.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
323.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
324.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
325.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
326.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
327.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
328.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
329.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
330.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
331.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
332.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
333.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
334.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
335.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
336.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

86. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____

87. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No

88. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

least suitable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	most suitable

89. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

not at all	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	very much

90. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

| not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

Listen to Recording 16

91. What do you think of the speaker?

337.	unfriendly	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	friendly
338.	unsociable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sociable
339.	stupid	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	intelligent
340.	arrogant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	humble
341.	poorly educated	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	highly educated
342.	cold	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	warm
343.	poor	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	wealthy
344.	unpleasant	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	pleasant
345.	unsuccessful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	successful
346.	unhelpful	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	helpful
347.	insincere	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	sincere
348.	crude	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	elegant
349.	unkind	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	kind
350.	incompetent	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	competent
351.	dishonest	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	honest
352.	boring	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	creative
353.	lazy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	hard-working
354.	inconsiderate	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	considerate
355.	unreliable	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	reliable
356.	old fashioned	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	modern
357.	stingy	1.....2.....3.....4.....5	generous

92. Where do you think the speaker comes from? _____

93. Do you think most Hong Kong people speak English like she does? Yes / No

94. How suitable is the speaker for the job of radio announcer?

| least suitable 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most suitable

95. When you speak English, to what extent would you like to sound like the speaker you have just heard?

| not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

96. To what extent do you think this speaker represents a Hong Kong identity?

| not at all 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 very much

II Additional Questions

Please select the most appropriate statement below to tell me exactly how you feel about the views expressed in these statements.

Statement 1 Hong Kong English is acceptable as long as people can communicate properly with it.

strongly disagree disagree don't know agree strongly agree

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Statement 2 As a Hongkonger, I should speak standard English, e.g. British English or American English.

strongly disagree disagree don't know agree strongly agree

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Statement 3 Hong Kong English may be difficult for non-Hongkongers to understand, so it is not good for communication.

strongly disagree disagree don't know agree strongly agree

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Statement 4 Hong Kong English originates from the Hong Kong people, so it can give me the feeling of belonging.

strongly disagree disagree don't know agree strongly agree

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Statement 5 As a Hongkonger, I should speak Hong Kong English.

strongly disagree disagree don't know agree strongly agree

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Statement 6 I do not feel that I belong to any English-speaking community, because English is not my native tongue.

strongly disagree disagree don't know agree strongly agree

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

III Your Background Information

Please fill in the following questions. You can circle the appropriate answers or use either English or CHINESE to answer open questions. All the responses are confidential and will be anonymised by me in published and unpublished research based on the findings.

Are you Male / Female

How old are you? _____ Your email_____

Which University are you in? _____

What is your degree and major? _____

You are: 1st Year / 2nd Year / 3rd or Final Year

2. Were you born in Hong Kong? Yes / No

   If No, please state your length of residence in Hong Kong _____

3. How would you describe your cultural identity?

   a) Chinese

   b) Hongkonger

c) Hong Kong Chinese
d) Other

4. Your native language (languages acquired in early childhood and used consistently over your lifetime):
   a) Cantonese
   b) Mandarin (Putonghua)
   c) English
   d) Other Chinese dialects
   e) Other language (please state) _____

i. If you have NOT chosen option c) above,, for how many years have you been studying English? _____

5. Your father's native language:
   a) Cantonese
   b) Mandarin (Putonghua)
   c) English
   d) Other Chinese dialects
   e) Other (please state) _____

i. If his native language is English, where is he originally from?_____

6. Your mother's native language:
   f) Cantonese
   g) Mandarin (Putonghua)
   h) English
   i) Other Chinese dialects
   j) Other (please state) _____

i. If her native language is English, where is she originally from?_____

6. In your primary school, what kind of English does/did your English teacher speak?
   a) American English
   b) British English
   c) English with a Hong Kong accent
   d) Other, please state_____

7. If English is the medium of instruction (the language that was used to teach all core subjects) in your primary school, what kind of English do/did other teachers in the school speak?
   a) American English
   b) British English
   c) English with Hong Kong accent
   d) Other, please state_____

8. Between your Form1~ Form4, what kind of English did/does your English teacher speak?
   a) American English
   b) British English
   c) English with Hong Kong accent
   d) Other, please state_____

9. If English is the medium of instruction in your F1~F4, what kind of English do/did other teachers speak?

a) American English
b) British English
c) English with Hong Kong accent
d) Other, please state_____

10. Between your F5~F6, what kind of English did/does your English teacher speak?

a) American English
b) British English
c) English with Hong Kong accent
d) Other, please state_____

11. If English is the medium of instruction in your F5~F6, what kind of English do/did other teachers speak?

a) American English
b) British English
c) English with Hong Kong accent
d) Other, please state_____

12. Have you been educated abroad (including long-term or short-term courses)? Yes / No

If yes, how old were you when you studied abroad? _____

Which country did you study in? the UK / the US / Australia / The Philippines / Other_____

How long was the course? _____

What type of course was it exactly? E.g., English course, Form 1.

_____

13. Have you lived abroad apart from education (including long or short holidays)? Yes / No

If yes, which country? the UK / the US / Australia / The Philippines / Other_____

For how long in total? _____

14. What is your housing type (the house which you and your family are currently living in)?

e) Privately owned flat
f) Privately rented flat
g) Public rental flat
h) Public subsidized sale flat

15. When did your father leave school and start work?

e) Form 4 or Before Form 4
f) After Form 5/6
g) After college/university study
h) After postgraduate study

i.What is your father's occupation? (or his occupation before he retired)

Please state_____

ii.What is the nature of your father's occupation? Please select

k) Managers and administrators
l) Professionals
m) Associate Professionals
n) Clerks
o) Service workers and shop sales workers
p) Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
q) Craft and related workers
r) Plant and machine operators and assemblers
s) Elementary occupations
t) Unclassified

16. When did your mother leave school and start work?

e) Form 4 or Before Form 4
f) After Form 5/6
g) After college/university study
h) After postgraduate study

i.What is your mother's occupation? (or her occupation before she retired)

Please state_____

ii.What is the nature of your mother's occupation? Please select

k) Managers and administrators
l) Professionals
m) Associate Professionals
n) Clerks
o) Service workers and shop sales workers
p) Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
q) Craft and related workers
r) Plant and machine operators and assemblers
s) Elementary occupations
t) Unclassified

17. How often do you use English with an American English speaker?

a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

18. How often do you watch or listen to an American English TV programme?

a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

19. To what extent do you prefer to speak American English?

least preferred 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most preferred

20. In what situation do you prefer to use American English?

E.g., with friends, at school, on-line chatting, etc._____

21. How often do you use English with a British English speaker?

a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

22. How often do you watch or listen to a British English TV programme?

a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

23. To what extent do you prefer to speak British English?

least preferred 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most preferred

24. In what situation do you prefer to use British English?

E.g., with friends, at school, on-line chatting, etc. _____

25. How often do you use English with a Hong Kong English speaker?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

26. How often do you watch or listen to a Hong Kong English TV programme?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

27. To what extent do you prefer to speak Hong Kong English?
least preferred 1.....2.....3.....4.....5 most preferred

28. In what situation do you prefer to use Hong Kong English?
E.g., with friends, at school, on-line chatting, etc. _____

29. How often do you use English with an Australian English speaker?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

30. How often do you watch or listen to an Australian English TV programme?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

31. How often do you use English with a Philippine English speaker?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

32. How often do you use English with a Mandarin (Putonghua) speaker?
a) Everyday b) Sometimes c) Hardly d) Not at all

33. Can you explain what Hong Kong English is?

34. Do you think it is a part of the Hong Kong identity?

35. Can you tell the difference between the broad Hong Kong accent and the educated Hong Kong accent? What is the difference then?